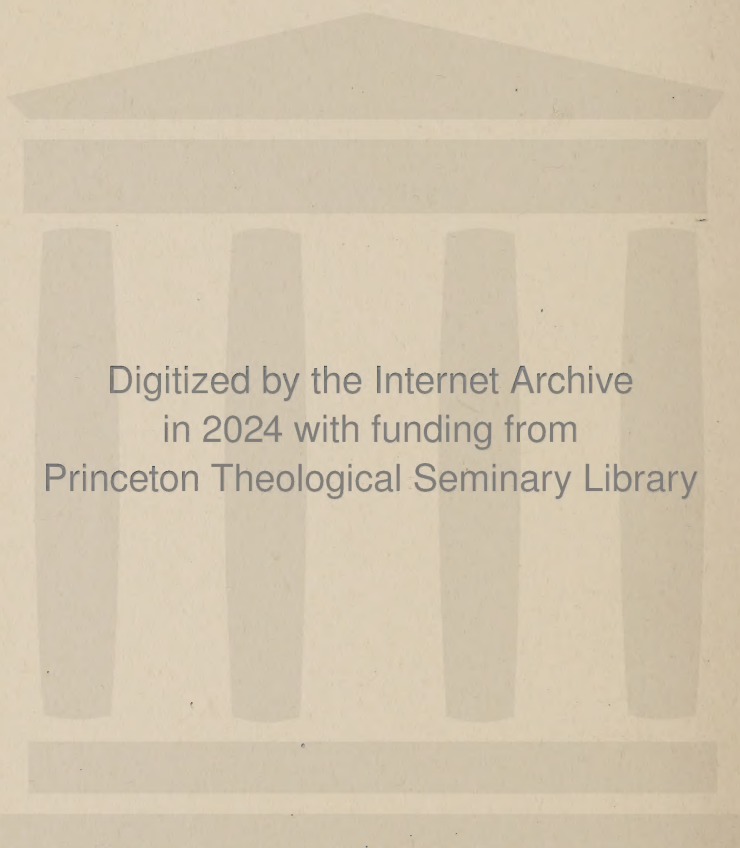
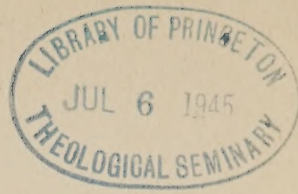


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AUSTRIAN AID TO AMERICAN CATHOLICS
1830-1860



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AUSTRIAN AID
TO AMERICAN CATHOLICS

1830 - 1860

By

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1944

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

NIHIL OBSTAT

R. N. Hamilton, S.J., censor deputatus
Milwaukiaie, die 25 Januarii, 1944

IMPRIMATUR

† Moyses E. Kiley
Archiepiscopus Milwaukiensis
Milwaukiaie, die 26 Januarii, 1944

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Printed in the United States of America

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PREFACE

American history has its roots in Europe. Scholars have long realized this, and, accordingly, they have investigated the lands from which America's citizens emigrated. They have studied the literature, art, customs, and politics of those lands with a view to explaining the origin and development of American culture.

Foreign groups also brought their religion to the new world. In some cases the fatherland of such groups tried to assist them in maintaining their religious convictions, while in other cases, groups of Europeans assisted this or that religion on the American frontier not on account of the nationality of its adherents but on account of the religion itself.

In studying the Austrian contribution to early American society, it becomes evident that historians have paid little attention to the far flung polyglot Hapsburg empire. References are indeed made to Bohemia Manor, to Comenius' invitation to Harvard College, or to the Salzburg Protestants in Georgia, but detailed analyses of Austro-American relations have yet to be made.

This work is an attempt to supply information which will throw light on several phases of the Austrian contribution to the United States. However, since there are so many possible approaches to this study it must be stated that the considerations of this work are limited to those contributions which were planned by Austrians as means of assisting the Catholic Church in the United States. In such a study the year 1830 is a convenient date at which to begin because it approximately coincides with the foundation of the Leopoldine Society¹ whose sole objective was to help the American missions. While the reports of the society, called *Berichte*, have been the main source of this work, data from other publications have been used extensively.

The time span, 1830-60, is not entirely arbitrary. In the

¹ The German word is *Stiftung*. While this is more accurately translated by "foundation," the word society has been used because it is more familiar to English readers.

United States it coincides with the growth of the tide of German immigration and the nativist and knownothing reactions. It also corresponds with the evolution of the War between the States. The number of states in the Union increased from 25 in 1836 when Arkansas was admitted to the Union—the first state since 1821—to 33 in 1859 when Oregon was admitted to statehood, thus bringing organized government to the north Pacific coast. In that same period the number of Catholic dioceses grew rapidly. In 1830 there was one province with ten suffragan sees of which St. Louis was the most remote. In 1860 there were over forty sees, including such distant ones as Los Angeles, California (1840), Portland, Oregon (1846), St. Paul, Minnesota (1850), and Portland, Maine (1853).

In Europe these three decades correspond to the most active period of the Leopoldine Society. Politically Europe was calm from 1815 to about 1860, at which time the birth pains of two great powers, Italy and Germany, began, and simultaneously people started to think of armed conquest rather than of peaceful pursuits. Of course, grave ideological changes were long in the making. Reform programs of a radical nature enjoyed an undulating popularity but the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 were more in the nature of disturbances than permanent changes.

An attempt was made to arrange this work around several topics such as churches, schools, convents, orphanages, and hospitals, but that proved unsatisfactory because of the indistinct nature of some of the organizations and also because of their transitory character. Gradually it became clear that the most substantial contribution of Austria to the American missions was the number of priests which she sent and supported. They preached successfully to the Indians, and, above all, they kept alive the faith of the German immigrants. Actuated by the highest motives they conducted divine service, they taught the children, founded orphanages, and in one instance they even started a parish library. These priests met practical situations in a practical, unoriginal fashion. Consequently it is not possible to find anything specifically Austrian and distinctly non-German in their contribution. The nature of the problems in America made that impossible, and, moreover, the ideas which

were current in Germany, such as those of Overberg, the educator, had influenced the Austrians on the Danube as well as the Germans on the Rhine.

Furthermore, if the people of Austria were generous with money and church goods, this must also be viewed in relation to the priests of that country in America. With surprising frequency the priests visited their homes where their narratives elicited interest. The relatives of the priests living in Europe kept an interest in them and their work, while published letters from the frontier pastors reached a large number of people who were at least casually interested in the Church in America. Gradually, these contacts deepened Austrian interest in the missions and that interest externalized itself in a steady flow of funds across the Atlantic ocean.

Although this work stresses men rather than money no effort has been made to amass biographical details. Some of the prominent Austrians have already found biographers, whereas others cannot become the subjects of monographs owing to the paucity of data. This study aims to give a general view of what all Austrian clergymen did in the various regions of the United States rather than to lionize a few representatives. Difficulty, however, was encountered in harmonizing the data because the sources were not of the best and they often contradict each other in details. There are no doubt inaccuracies in this work, but it is hoped that they are not serious. Footnotes have been generously used because little literature exists on Austro-American relations, so the notes may be helpful to those interested in expanding that field of research.

While every reliable study of German history must consider the differences of character which separate Westphalians from Bavarians, Rhinelanders from Austrians, in early American history these differences were of little consequence. In the first place Austrian emigration to America was negligible, and, secondly, in the United States the Germans usually welcomed any German speaking priest if he was of good character. In Europe these same Germans, in their local consciousness, might have been hostile to Austrians, but in America they fast became aware of the great difference between

Americans and Europeans, and, as a result they overlooked the differences between various members of the Germanic family of nations. Still more important was the devotion to a common objective, namely, the preservation of the Catholic religion, an objective which inspired German-Americans to befriend rather than scorn each other. Because Austria had long been subject to German speaking rulers and to Germanizing schools, the Austrians were well qualified to work among the Germans in America, and generations of close contact had dimmed the line separating eastern Europe from western Europe. It may, therefore, be well to caution the reader again that this study is not intended to show a transplanting of anything typically Austrian to the United States, but only to depict what Austrians did in the United States.

The author wishes to express his thanks in a very special way to the Reverend Raphael Hamilton, S.J., of Marquette University, who directed this dissertation and offered many valuable criticisms. He thanks the other members of the committee, namely, Reverend Clarence Ryan, S.J., Dr. Herbert Rice, Dr. William Dehorn, and Dr. Leo Wearing. Thanks also are due to Reverend Peter Leo Johnson, of St. Francis; Reverend John Lenhart, O.F.M.Cap., of Pittsburgh; Mr. F. P. Kenkel, of St. Louis; Dr. Ernst Karl Winter, formerly of Vienna; and Mr. Joseph H. Blied, of Madison. The author expresses appreciation to the Right Reverend Monsignor Augustine Breig and Reverend Raymond Fetterer of the Salzmann Library, St. Francis, for having placed at his disposal the vast collection of German Catholic literature which that library possesses. Finally, gratitude is due to the librarians of Marquette University, the Milwaukee Public Library, the Wisconsin Historical Society, Newberry Library, the University of Wisconsin, the University of Illinois, the University of Chicago, and the University of Texas.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL PRELUDE

Jesus Christ, the Son of God, in His august person fulfilled the prophecies contained in the sacred literature of the Jews. After having expounded and amplified the doctrinal content of those writings, He founded the Catholic Church, an organization whose primary objective is the preservation and dissemination of that doctrine. Christ's collaborators, the Apostles, travelled far and wide to spread the gospel, and they, in turn, gathered around themselves men whom they trained as auxiliary teachers of the gospel. All these aimed to convert individuals and families, but in the course of time Christian communities emerged and public ideals were affected. Though human society was eventually elevated as a result of the spread of Christianity, the leaders of the Church were primarily preachers of the gospel, and only incidentally, often unconsciously, were they social workers.

Though persecution hindered the phenomenal expansion of the Church in the first centuries, the number of Christians in the Roman Empire grew so rapidly that early in the fourth century Constantine made the Church a legal institution. The evangelization of the Roman Empire was already far advanced when the decrepit empire crumbled under the impact of the migration of nations. Zealous individuals were not slow in going among the barbarians to bring them the gospel, but in some instances they found that the barbarians were not pagans but heretical Christians. Such was the case with the Goths who were acquainted with the Arian works of Bishop Ulfilas. The early heretics, being renegade or misled Catholics, had all the missionary zeal of orthodox Catholics, and as a consequence their heresies spread rapidly. As time went on, dominating characters, like St. Boniface, established the Church more firmly in its normal hierarchy in some parts of Europe, but the so-called "Apostles" of the various countries often built upon the work of humble precursors who had spread the gospel centuries before the "Apostle" arrived.

The new nations which slowly evolved out of the debris of the Roman Empire became solidly Catholic. With Europe Christianized, the Church took up the evangelization of the Orient. While the Far East had never been influenced by Roman culture, the Near East had come under its influence, but as far as the Church was concerned, she had suffered both from highly speculative heresies and from exceedingly practical Caesaro-papism. In the Middle Ages the religious orders, especially the newly founded Dominicans and Franciscans, imparted new impetus to mission work and by the beginning of the fourteenth century there was in existence a mission society named *Societas peregrinantium propter Christum*. While supporting both orders, there were two branches, one for the Orient, the other for Europe and Asia.¹

The Renaissance by circulating books of an historical and geographical nature had piqued popular curiosity for newly discovered lands. Just when the Reformation was devastating the Church in Europe, missionaries started to convert both the real Indians of the Orient and the putative Indians of America. A brilliant start was made while Spain and Portugal held the hegemony of the world, but this state of affairs did not long endure for two Protestant countries, Holland and England, soon became great maritime nations. Consequently the Catholic missionaries were hindered in their work both by penal laws which excluded Catholics from Protestant colonies and by the competition of heretical missionary activity, which, however, was not sizeable until long after the Reformation.

In the period when the Church was concerned with stopping the rising tide of Protestantism in Europe the Jesuits were organized and soon they engaged in mission work. While the deeds of the French Jesuits in America are well known, not so well known are the efforts of the Austrian Jesuits who, besides vitalizing the counter-reformation in the land of Huss, went to the far corners of the earth at the same time. For example, Innocent Erberg became a Jesuit in 1715 and ten years later went to Paraguay where he remained forty years. Around 1750 Father Plantich went from Austria to Paraguay

¹ Joseph Schmidlin, *Catholic Mission History*, 227-229. The society was suppressed in the fifteenth century.

where he labored very successfully and was known as *Rex Primus Paraguayae*. A little earlier Martin Martini, S.J., a native of Trent, went to China where he died in 1661 after having written extensively on the history of China. John Grueber, of Linz, went to China and walked through Tartary, Hindustan and Persia, and rendered conspicuous service to the science of geography.² Balthasar Miller, S.J., whose brother was Bishop of Trent, died in Croatia in 1742 after having been in China and East India. Again, Karl Przikril, S.J., born in Prague in 1718, died Koeniggratz in 1785 after having been in East India and after having written several works on oriental subjects. Some Austrian Jesuits went to Mexico and thus came into contact with the present border land of the United States. Ferdinand Konsag, who had been born at Varazdin, Croatia, in 1703 and was ordained in Gratz, functioned as professor in Buda. In 1730 he left for America, travelling via Cuba to Vera Cruz and soon afterward he began a career of twenty-eight years in Lower California.³ Among his writings is a discussion of the life of Rev. Antonio Tempis, of Olmuetz, who, after studying in Prague, came to northern Mexico and died in 1746.⁴ Even Eusebio Kino who reached Arizona may be cited as evidence of the Jesuits' zeal to leave Central Europe for distant parts of the world in the period when England and Holland dominated the sea lanes.⁵

More serious than the Protestant control of the seas and the application of the penal laws at home and in the colonies was the dry rot within the Church. This resulted from the

² A digest of his trip is given in John Pinkerton, *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in All Parts of the World Many of Which Are Now First Translated into English*, London, Longman, Hurst, Ries, Orme and Brown, 1808-14.

Another Austrian, a Franciscan, Blessed Odorich of Pordenone, made a similar journey between 1327 and 1330. He went from Peiping in China through Tibet and Armenia back to Italy. He was the first European to visit Lhasa, the capital of Tibet.

³ *Life and Works of the Rev. Ferdinand Konscak, S.J., 1703-1759*, ed. by Msgr. M. D. Krmpotic, Boston, The Stratford Co., 1923.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁵ For data on the Austrian missionaries see Constant von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaisertums Oesterreich*.

Many Austrians are contained in the list found in Anton Huonder, S.J., *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, *Ergänzungsheft to Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, 74.

Enlightenment, an attitude which permeated Europe and atrophied in its adherents all enthusiasm for the supernatural if it did not destroy the idea of the supernatural entirely. Closely related to the intellectual side of the movement was the practical side, namely, the throttling of church activity by the state, an arrangement known variously as Erastianism, Gallicanism, or Josephinism. It was this same period of the *Aufklärung* which inspired and encompassed the suppression of the Jesuits, first in individual countries, and later in the world. This did not only affect the missions which were in the hands of the Jesuits; it made it possible to "enlighten" the schools more fully and thus decrease the number of all vocations. More than that, rulers who once enjoyed increased revenue from the suppression of the Jesuits were soon tempted to suppress other religious organizations in order to swell the royal coffers. While such forces were at work, few would court martyrdom or the hardships of missionary life.

The Enlightenment stood for smug self-sufficiency and a static resignation to man's many limitations. Life had become external and superficial. This geocentric *Weltanschauung*, however, satisfies few generations. Man looks to the heights, and, as St. Augustine said, his heart was made for God and it does not rest except in Him. Because man has a heart as well as a head, and because he delights in ideals despite his lapses and limitations, the Enlightenment gave place to a different outlook just as long before orthodox Protestantism had evoked a reaction in the form of "Pietism."⁶ By the dawn of the nineteenth century another emotional reaction, called Romanticism, was at its height in German speaking lands. Men again meditated on God, even though they called Him the Absolute and viewed Him in a pantheistic light. If the cosmopolitan men of the Enlightenment had the whole world as

⁶ Koppel S. Pinson, *Pietism as a Factor in the Rise of German Nationalism*; D. Warneck, "Mission unter den Heiden, Protestantische," *Realencyclopaedie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 3 ed., 13:134.

While Spener may be more important as a Pietist than Francke, it was the latter who became an enthusiast for missionary work in Protestant circles. Although Spener and Francke were unfriendly to Catholicism, critics of pietism alleged that it was too Catholic.

their home, the Romanticists concentrated their attention on their fatherland and their immediate neighborhood. Musing upon their neighbors, the sameness of customs and language, the Romanticists innocently laid the basis of nationalism and totalitarianism—a counterfeit of the mystical body of Christ. Men thought again of the Church as a common denominator of culture and civilization. Culture again met Christianity. In France the Catholic Church was defended by Chateaubriand, Le Maistre, de Bonald, and Montalembert, while in Germany the world beheld eminent converts gravitating towards St. Clement Hofbauer: Friedrich Schlegel, Zacharias Werner, Adam Mueller, Friedrich Klinkowstroem, and a galaxy of others, not to mention those who admired the Church without joining her.

Speaking of the period of Romanticism, Schmidlin writes:

"Just as the Catholic restoration and Romanticism found their external expression in the re-establishment of the ecclesiastical conditions by concordats, they also found a still more distinct spiritual expression in the religious renewal of the spirit of the age and its return to its old ideals.

"This social metamorphosis of mankind also found its reflection in the work of conversion and the propagation of the Faith. The same force which at the center of ecclesiastical activity aimed at re-winning the members separated by heresy or unbelief, was proclaimed at the circumference by an increasing zeal for the conversion of the pagans. An intimate connection, both real and ideal, thus links the Romantic stream of conversions with the missionary movement; converts like Ratisbonne and Libermann energetically promoted missionary enthusiasm and activity; the spokesmen of the Oxford Movement, Wiseman and Newman, showed and also pleaded for a special appreciation of the pagan missions."⁷

In the Romantic climate of opinion the value of Christianity was again admitted by the intelligentsia. Christian piety found a mental medium in which to flourish and it fructified in new missionary activity. Proof of this is seen not only in the literature and the popular opinion of the period, but also in the

⁷ Schmidlin, *op. cit.*, 557-558. Schmidlin relates the great literary output of mission literature to romanticism. The romanticists had a mania for publications. Chateaubriand in *Génie du Christianisme* devotes nine chapters of Book Four to the missions.

renewed missionary zeal of the old orders and the establishment of new orders which dedicated themselves to missionary enterprise. Thus the Picpus Society, founded in 1805 and confirmed by the Holy Father in 1817, aimed at training missionaries particularly for Oceania. Similarly in the year 1815 Colin founded the Marists for Oceania, and in the following year Mazenod founded the Oblates of the Immaculate Conception.

Enthusiasm among the laity showed itself in the formation of mission societies. Although many were small and local, three which date from the second fifth of the nineteenth century became important: the Society for the Propagation of the Faith (1822), of France; the Leopoldine Society (1829), of Austria; and the Ludwig Society (1838), of Bavaria.

Lastly, within that same epoch, on February 2, 1831, for the first time in history, a prefect of the Propaganda, Mauro Cappellari, ascended the throne of St. Peter. He took the name of Gregory XVI and ruled for 15 years. Though his regime has been attacked on various scores, no one can deny that he was a great missionary pope. His pontificate mirrored the Catholic enthusiasm of the time, and his zeal for the missions is appropriately reflected in the monument which was erected to his memory in St. Peter's in Rome. There he appears as the vicar of Christ accepting the homage of neophytes from distant lands, while at the same time his right hand points to a map of the world and his left points to the cross encouraging the vanguard of the gospel to penetrate farther into the remote parts of the world to illumine them with the salvific light of the holy gospel.⁸

⁸ Josef Schmidlin, *Papstgeschichte der neuesten Zeit*, 1:662-675.

CHAPTER II

FOUNDING THE LEOPOLDINE SOCIETY

Although the Church has always been mission minded, the intensity of her missionary work has varied in the course of centuries. The last century was a period of enthusiasm for the missions, and this outburst showed itself first in France in the shape of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith.¹ The early history of this organization is obscure, due no doubt to the fact that the more natural a thing is, the more difficult is the investigation of its history. Certainly it was quite natural to form a small club of people who were interested in the missions and who were willing to pray for them and make contributions. Mlle. Jaricot is usually called the founder of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, but the names of Mme. Petit and M. Benoit Coste must be inseparably joined to hers. Mme. Petit had left San Domingo after the revolution of 1794 and had gone to America where she became acquainted with Father Du Bourg. Though Mme. Petit moved to Lyons in 1803, she kept up a correspondence with Father Du Bourg as well as with Father Flaget. The former in 1815 became bishop of New Orleans, while the latter was raised to the see of Bardstown in 1808. Du Bourg was consecrated in Rome, and en route to America, he visited Mme. Petit, suggesting that she found a society to assist the Catholics in Louisiana with a definite amount of money at regular intervals. Years passed but eventually the society was born on May 3, 1822, in the city Lyons.²

The Society for the Propagation of the Faith was organized on the decimal basis. Ten members formed a section, ten sections a century, and ten centuries a division. Each member recited daily one *Our Father*, one *Hail Mary* together with the invocation *St. Francis Xavier, Pray for us*, and contributed one penny per week. The Superior Council distributed the

¹ See Edward J. Hickey, *The Society for the Propagation of the Faith Its Foundation, Organization and Success (1822-1922)*.

² *Ibid.*, 24.

funds, and a general bulletin of mission news was published. Only requests for financial aid from bishops, vicars apostolic, and superiors of religious communities were considered. While the society featured no public meetings, on two feasts, the Finding of the Holy Cross and the Feast of St. Francis Xavier, a Holy Mass was offered in all cities which had a council of the society.

Despite its pious character the new organization experienced problems. Father Inglesi, Du Bourg's vicar general, misused some of the funds, even though he had played a part in founding the society; the French Government suspected it as another of the legion of secret societies which existed in France at the time; and neighboring countries wondered whether the organization had political significance.

The Society for the Propagation of the Faith nevertheless continued to grow, and in 1843 Bishop Charles de Forbin-Janson, of Nancy, founded the Association of the Holy Childhood as a junior branch.³ The requisites for membership in the Holy Childhood included a donation of a penny per month and the daily recitation of one *Hail Mary* with the invocation *Holy Virgin Mary, pray for us and for the poor pagan children*. Membership for life was possible, but in order to merit the indulgences it was necessary to join the Society for the Propagation of the Faith at the age of twenty-one. The junior society became a favorite in Germany, and twenty years ago, it was estimated that 18,000,000 pagan children had been won to the faith by this organization.

Meanwhile the mission spirit had been stimulated in other lands. In 1825 Belgium had donated to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith 497 francs; Italy followed with a donation in 1827, and then followed Germany and Switzerland. Even the British Isles sent a contribution in 1836. Portugal and Holland began contributing in 1837, while the United

³ Bishop Charles de Forbin-Janson had to leave his diocese in 1830 owing to political events. Having always been interested in the missions, he visited the United States from 1839-1841. In May, 1840, he participated in the fourth provincial council of Baltimore, and he was offered the administration of the diocese of Detroit. In 1840 he made a trip to the frontier where he visited Galena, Dubuque, and St. Paul. See "Editorial Comment," *Salesianum*, 1943, 38:122-123.

States, Spain, and Austria sent their first donations in 1839. Even in the years when the United States was a heavy beneficiary, it was allowed to contribute to the general fund in order to stimulate mission consciousness. While the society was thus expanding internationally, nationalism was prompting the various nations to form separate organizations to help the missions without the intervention of Frenchmen.⁴

The Society for the Propagation of the Faith had been in existence five years when a young German priest, bearing the title vicar general of Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati, arrived in Europe from America. This young man, Friedrich Résé, had been born in Vienenburg, Hannover, in 1791. His parents were poor and both had died at an early age, so in order to gain a livelihood young Friedrich became a tailor's apprentice. Later, under Bluecher, he fought against Napoleon, and after the peace had come, like a pilgrim, he walked to Rome to enter the college of the Propaganda, where he was ordained in 1822 with a view to working in the missions. Some say he cast his eyes toward China, others toward Africa, but because his health was not equal to his ideals, Pope Pius VII directed him to Bishop Fenwick. Both the bishop and the priest came to Cincinnati in 1824 after having pleaded for help at the office of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. It was a return for Fenwick; an arrival for Résé.

Three years later the bishop sent Résé to Europe to seek aid for his diocese. First he visited Rome and then Vienna where he ingratiated himself with Rudolph Johann Joseph Rainer, Cardinal von Hapsburg, the brother of Emperor Francis I, and he also became a friend of Leopold Firmian, archbishop of Vienna. While abroad, in December, 1828, Résé compiled a pamphlet from the contents of the *Annales*, the organ of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, which he entitled *Abriss der Geschichte des Bistums Cincinnati in*

⁴ The Society for the Propagation of the Faith from 1822 to 1922 collected \$100,341,635. Of this total, the United States contributed \$10,983,452; it had received \$7,020,974 in that same period. Religious orders received \$516,592; of this the Jesuits received \$263,089 and the Lazarists \$158,800. Although the figures in themselves are impressive, it must be remembered that the buying power of money a century ago was greater than today. Hickey, *op. cit.*, 122, 189.

Nord-Amerika. This little work, similar to many secular accounts which appeared at the time, had for its objective to arouse the interest of European Catholics in the west of that day.⁵

Cardinal Rudolph, who had been born in 1788, was the youngest son of Emperor Leopold II and Marie Louise. As a lad he was sickly, but already as a theological student he was co-adjutor to the bishop of Olmuetz. In 1819 he took office and that same year received the cardinalate. As a lover of the arts he was a virtuoso on the piano, and as a churchman his benevolence was boundless. He died at the early age of 44 in Baden, a suburb of Vienna close to Maria Enzersdorf, the last resting place of St. Clement Mary Hofbauer and his romanticist proteges. Leopold M. Firmian had a less impressive background. Born in Trent in 1766, he was ordained at Salzburg, became auxiliary bishop of Passau in 1797, later bishop of Lavant, administrator of Salzburg in 1818, and in 1822 the archbishop of Vienna, a post he held till his death in 1831. These two churchmen arranged an interview for Résé with the emperor, Francis I, who was found to be agreeable to the project of a mission society within his empire. When Pope Leo XII was approached he proved affable to the idea of a new mission society and in the document *Quamquam plura sint* of January 30, 1829, he endorsed the Austrian society which began to function on May 13, 1829.

This new organization was called the Leopoldine Society to honor St. Leopold, an Austrian medieval margrave, and especially to honor Leopoldine, the Hapsburg empress of Brazil. Considering that this society was born officially in 1829 and unofficially in 1828, it is easy to see that the House of Hapsburg was still grieving over the death of Empress Leopoldine who had died in Brazil, far from home, on December 11, 1826. Leopoldine, the daughter of Francis I of Austria and Maria Theresa, princess of the Sicilies, was born on January 22, 1797.

⁵ The literature on Résé is scattered and hazy. See Willibald Mattheser, *Der Ludwig-Missionsverein in der Zeit König Ludwigs I. von Bayern*, 34-77. Beda Kleinschmidt, *Auslanddeutschtum und Kirche*, 71-73. Theodore Roemer, *Ten Decades of Alms*, 32-39. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s. v. Résé. Data on Austrian prelates taken from Wurzbach, *op. cit.*, s. v. Hapsburg, Firmian.

Her father, Emperor Francis, had married four times. His first wife, Elizabeth, a convert to the Church, bore him a child who died in infancy. His third wife, Marie Louise, and his fourth, Caroline Augusta, bore him no children. But Maria Theresa, his second wife, bore him twelve children including Marie Louise the wife of Napoleon I, Ferdinand the future emperor of Austria who resigned in 1848, and Leopoldine.⁶ The latter married the ruler of Brazil Dom Pedro de Alcantara by proxy on May 15, 1817, and in person on November 6, 1817. Neither had seen the other in advance. The wooing was purely literary, and the bride at her new residence gave testimony of her interest in literature by collecting the greatest library in Brazil. Her keen mind had been well educated, and she was interested in all fields of knowledge. During her stay in South America she often appeared in public, endearing herself to the Brazilians by her friendliness and kindness.

Her eldest child, Maria da Gloria, was born in 1819, and thereafter one was born every year till 1825 when the future Dom Pedro II came into the world. His father, Pedro I, was not permanently enraptured with his flaxen-haired bride. He became infatuated with the raven-haired Domitila de Castro Canto e Mello who bore him an extra daughter in 1824. Eventually the lady rivals quarrelled bitterly, and although the people of Brazil sympathized with Leopoldine, life became harder for the scion of Hapsburg. Her days however were numbered, for she died December 11, 1826. Five years later, in 1831, her son became emperor of Brazil and ruled until 1889 when he was deposed.⁷

The Leopoldine Society was placed under the protection of Archduke Rudolf, cardinal and archbishop of Olmuetz, and the office space in Vienna was provided by the Dominicans. The opening sermon with which it was launched was preached by Rev. Joseph Pletz, professor of dogma and canon of St. Stephen's cathedral. He also edited *Neue Theologische Zeitschrift* wherein he published data on the missions much like

⁶ Wurzbach, *op. cit.*, s. v. Hapsburg.

⁷ Mary W. Williams, *Dom Pedro the Magnanimous Second Emperor of Brazil*, 8-11. Bertita Harding, *Amazon Throne, The Story of the Braganzas of Brazil*, 69-152.

Raess of Strassburg did in the *Katholik*.⁸ Pletz' sermon on the occasion of founding the Leopoldine Society was long and eloquent. If few heard it, many had it available for it was printed in pamphlet form. In a world recovering from the *Aufklärung*, it was remarkable. The preacher pointed to Christ's command to convert the world, and observed at the same time that the search for truth, virtue, and happiness is rooted in human nature. Only the religion of Christ can solve the problem of life. Art and literature should be encouraged, but the art of arts is to arrive at God. Nature itself urges us onward to share those things which benefit the human race. History bears witness to the work of the Church. True culture, individual and collective welfare, is promoted only by the religion of the cross which has banished idolatry, abolished human sacrifice and exalted the status of women. Civilization and culture stand or fall with Christianity. If the present epoch speaks of humanity and enlightenment, it ought also to understand that the promotion of Christianity is a service to humanity.

The preacher developed his theme by pointing to men and events. He referred to St. Severin, patron of Austria, and to St. Leopold, and he overlooked none of the great missionary organizations. The preacher also discussed the field of work across the Atlantic by observing that in 1829 the diocese of Cincinnati had 40,000 souls served by only sixteen priests, yet its area exceeded that of France. Father Pletz concluded by reminding his hearers that since the majority of Austrians did not bow down to the Enlightenment the Austrians should now

⁸ Pletz was born to poor parents in Vienna in 1788 and died there in 1840. He had been a pupil of Gruber, later archbishop of Salzburg. He was deeply influenced by Frint, and later wrote for Frint's theological periodical. Pletz was a Bible scholar and a scholar of oriental languages. In 1827 he became canon in Vienna, and in 1836 he was named court pastor. He also served as confessor to Emperor Ferdinand. See Wurzbach, *op. cit.*, s. v. Pletz. Ignatz Beidtel, *Geschichte der österreichischen Staatsverwaltung 1740-1848 Mit einem Anhang Uebersicht der österreichischen Kirchengeschichte von 1848-1861*, 277, describes Frint as a protege of the emperor. In 1817 he opened an advanced school, called St. Augustine, which some suspected as favoring the unpopular "general seminaries."

show mercy to the Indians living in Ohio, Michigan and the Northwest.⁹

The by-laws of the society were similar to those of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. They follow in full.¹⁰

The Leopoldine Society has three objectives: to promote greater Catholic missionary activity in America, to create enthusiasm in the faithful for the growth of the Church in distant parts of the world, to be a memorial to her majesty, Leopoldine, archduchess of Austria, late empress of Brazil, who died in America.

Prayer and almsgiving are the means to realize these objectives.

Every member of this society binds himself to say daily one *Our Father* and *Hail Mary* with the invocation *St. Leopold, pray for us* and to contribute weekly one *Kreuzer*. Entrance into the society is voluntary, and every member is free to withdraw at will.

Ten members band together and select one of their number as a collector of the weekly alms. Each collector must keep his group intact by procuring a new member when a vacancy occurs, and he also has the duty of taking the alms monthly to the parish priest together with the form sheets properly filled out with the donations and his signature.

Each pastor takes the aforesaid collection to his dean. He, at his convenience, but at least quarterly, forwards it to the Most Reverend Ordinary.

If anyone wishes to donate a larger sum, such contribution can be given either to the pastor with a note to be inscribed on the report form, or the contribution can be forwarded to the dean or the ordinary.

The bishops are requested to send from time to time to the central office of the society in Vienna all the alms for the missions together with above mentioned blanks.

The central office in Vienna, which has taken this work upon itself under the protection of His Majesty, the Emperor, and in union with Rev. Friedrich Résé, vicar general of the Bishop of Cincinnati in North America, will endeavor to discharge its duties in a practical way for the glory of God and the spread of the faith. It will forward money, either from the alms that come to the ordinaries or directly to the society, to satisfy the needs of the American missions. The

⁹ The sermon was published in a pamphlet *Ueber den pflichtmässigen Beytritt katholischer Christen zu der im Kaiserthume Oesterreich für die Ausbreitung der nordamerikanischen Missionen errichteten Leopoldinen-Stiftung*.

¹⁰ These appeared in pamphlet form under the title *Regeln des zur Unterstützung der katholischen Missionen in Amerika in den sämtlichen Staaten des Kaisertums Oesterreich unter dem Namen Leopoldinen-Stiftung gebildeten Vereins*.

allotments will be made conscientiously after due investigation. The money will be forwarded in the least expensive way.

The central office will try to reward the zeal of the members by describing at intervals the fruits of their kindness and the condition of Catholicism in America. The data will be drawn from the correspondence of the society.

As a reminder that the Leopoldine Society is a religious institution, it will celebrate in Vienna, as the feast of its founding, the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, the protectress of all church organizations. It will also celebrate the feast of the saintly Margrave Leopold, the patron saint of the late Empress Leopoldine, and the chosen patron of this organization. On the eleventh of December, the day of the death of Her Highness, Leopoldine, Empress of Brazil, a solemn requiem high Mass will be sung for the repose of her soul and the souls of the promoters and benefactors of this foundation. All the members are invited to unite their pious prayers with those of the central office.

His Holiness, Pope Leo XII, eleven days before his death, gave evidence of his satisfaction with the apostolic undertaking. In a special brief he bestowed on the members of this society the following plenary indulgences. The ordinaries have promulgated them after the *Placetum* of His Majesty was issued on the fourteenth of April this year. On the day of entry into the society, on the eighth of December, on the day when the feast of St. Leopold is celebrated, a plenary indulgence can be gained; once a month also, if an *Our Father*, *Hail Mary* and the invocation *St. Leopold, pray for us* has been recited daily for a month before. These indulgences can be gained after a confession and Holy Communion plus prayers in a public church for the unity of Christian princes, the extirpation of heresy, and the exaltation of Holy Mother Church.

His Imperial Highness and Eminence, Archduke Rudolph, Cardinal Archbishop of Olmuetz, has accepted the protection of the Leopoldine Society, and the Most Reverend Archbishop of Vienna has been selected to be his representative.

The Leopoldine Society from the outset was interested in publishing missionary data. Besides the digest of Résé, written in 1828, the opening sermon of Pletz was published. Very soon an official organ for the society was decided upon, and it was very prosaically known as *Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung im Kaiserthume Oesterreich*. One number appeared annually, but in the years 1831, 1832, and 1833 two numbers appeared. The numbers varied in size, but their contents remained the same, namely, unimpassioned letters of bishops and missionaries, both secular and religious. Some of the letters are

translations, and some have been edited, but the amount of editing cannot be determined. Though the society must have carried on a large correspondence no files of manuscripts exist today. For a time Canon Salzbacher prepared the *Berichte* and did the necessary translating. Father Pletz also did some work of that nature.¹¹ At the end of each number there usually was a list of the gifts in kind that had been received as also a table of receipts and disbursements. The receipts were listed by dioceses which were usually grouped into thirteen provinces, namely, Lower Austria, Austria on the Enns, Styria, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Illyria, Tirol, Galicia, Hungary and environs, Lombardy, Venice, and Dalmatia.

Although the *Berichte* continued to appear until 1914, the activity of the society declined sharply after 1860. This is mirrored in the contributions of the society to America.

From 1822 to 1831	Austria sent	\$ 39,042
From 1832 to 1841	Austria sent	157,820
From 1842 to 1851	Austria sent	113,225
From 1852 to 1861	Austria sent	125,987
From 1862 to 1871	Austria sent	75,265
From 1872 to 1881	Austria sent	57,705
From 1882 to 1891	Austria sent	54,241
From 1892 to 1901	Austria sent	42,623
From 1902 to 1911	Austria sent	35,586 ¹²

The reasons for the decline are several. In the first place, during the Civil War Europeans had read much about the United States and thereby learned about its resources. After peace returned appeals for sympathy were not so graciously received as they were around 1840. Secondly, the Church itself was well organized by 1860 and the Indians no longer fascinated Europeans. Moreover, in 1851 the *Marienverein* for helping Central Africa had come into existence; in 1856 the

¹¹ Pletz helped publish *Notizie della missione in terra santa* which was published by the General Commissariat of the Holy Land in Vienna.

The writer has not seen any copies of the *Berichte* in Italian or Bohemian nor has he seen references to them. Judging from the financial reports of the society such must have existed because people were paid to make translations. See *Berichte*, supplements to No. 24 and following.

¹² Theodore Roemer, *Ten Decades of Alms*, 221.

Society of the Immaculate Conception was organized for the support of Catholics in Turkey and the Orient; and with the domination of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Austrians became more and more interested in those neighboring countries and in the lands east of the Hapsburg empire. The Austrians were not only academically interested in those lands; they emigrated to them. Thus Bosnia and Herzegovina which had 4,500 Austrians in 1880 had 24,018 in 1895, and the Austrians even went to Egypt in considerable numbers.¹³

An attempt to analyze the contributions of Austria to the dioceses in the United States is difficult, but the following table is approximately correct. It is based upon a digest published by the society in 1846 to which have been added the sums listed in the subsequent issues of the *Berichte*. Naturally the confusion resulting from the erection of new dioceses out of old ones cannot be eliminated.

Albany	6,000 florins
Alton	4,000 florins
Baltimore	43,000 florins
Boston	18,000 florins
Brooklyn	3,000 florins
Buffalo	12,000 florins
Burlington	3,000 florins
Charleston.. ..	67,500 florins
Chicago	20,000 florins
Cincinnati	128,495 florins
Cleveland	2,000 florins
Covington	2,000 florins
Detroit	54,000 florins
Dubuque	25,000 florins
Erie	3,000 florins
Galveston (Vicariate of Texas).....	13,000 florins
Hartford	19,000 florins
Kingston	6,000 florins
Little Rock	22,000 florins
Louisville	23,000 florins

¹³ Willibald Mathaerer, *Der Ludwig-Missionsverein*, 34-37. Joseph Buzek, "Das Auswanderungsproblem und die Regelung des Auswanderungswesens in Oesterreich," *Zeitschrift für Volkswirtschaft, Socialpolitik und Verwaltung*, 1901, 10:455. Statistics on mission work in the individual dioceses is available in the separate volumes of *Das sociale Wirken der katholischen Kirche in Oesterreich*, published by the Leo Gesellschaft.

Marquette	6,000 florins
Milwaukee	20,000 florins
Mobile	32,000 florins
Nashville	18,000 florins
Natchez	14,000 florins
Natchitoches	2,000 florins
Newark	3,000 florins
New Orleans	10,000 florins
New York	35,000 florins
Philadelphia	29,500 florins
Pittsburgh	23,000 florins
Quincy	3,000 florins
Richmond	20,000 florins
St. Louis	52,000 florins
St. Paul	6,000 florins
Savannah	2,000 florins
Toronto	2,000 florins
Trinidad	4,000 florins
Vancouver	2,000 florins
Vincennes	68,800 florins
Wheeling	6,000 florins
<hr/>	
832,295 florins ¹⁴	

Besides contributions to the dioceses, grants were made to religious orders. Thus the Jesuits, Redemptorists and other missionaries received 48,418 florins prior to 1846, and from 1846-1860, for example, the Jesuits received 28,000 florins, the Redemptorists 22,010, the Ursulines of St. Louis 2,475, and the Milwaukee Capuchins 1,000. Besides this, individuals, such as the Benedictine Balleis, received as high as 1,000 florins, and even the American mission house at Louvain received gifts.¹⁵ Lastly, the Leopoldine Society spent much money in providing transportation for missionaries. The usual stipend was 400 florins. If these grants are totaled, and consideration is made for necessary office expense the above total of 832,295 florins can be said to balance the income record of the society which is as follows:

¹⁴ *Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung*, 19, and the appendices in each issue up to 1860. A florin was worth slightly less than fifty cents.

¹⁵ For a summary of gifts from all three societies to religious orders see Roemer, *op. cit.*, 234.

1830.....	34,420 florins	1847.....	No contributions
1831.....	15,786 florins	1848.....	No contributions
1832.....	47,000 florins	1849.....	No contributions
1833.....	53,276 florins	1850.....	43,301 florins
1834.....	32,000 florins	1850.....	35,523 florins
1835.....	30,620 florins	1851.....	38,291 florins
1836.....	34,200 florins	1852.....	36,314 florins
1837.....	40,840 florins	1853.....	31,906 florins
1838.....	48,071 florins	1854.....	14,704 florins
1839.....	36,400 florins	1855.....	47,250 florins
1840.....	37,264 florins	1856.....	51,755 florins
1841.....	47,720 florins	1857.....	12,457 florins
1842.....	39,061 florins	1858.....	47,773 florins
1843.....	37,523 florins	1859.....	2,445 florins
1844.....	41,233 florins	1860.....	56,531 florins
1845.....	44,696 florins		
1846.....	43,970 florins		
			1,082,330 ¹⁶

Since the Leopoldine Society had its headquarters in Vienna it is interesting to note that the period under consideration falls within the rule of only three emperors: Francis I, 1792-1835; Ferdinand I, 1835-1848; and Francis Joseph, 1848-1916, and similarly within the rule of three archbishops of Vienna: Leopold M. Firmian, 1820-1831; Vincent E. Milde, 1831-1853; and Othmar Rauscher, 1853-1875. Firmian's career has been touched upon already. His successor was the son of a book binder in Bruenn. He was born in 1777, ordained in 1800, and acquired fame as a catechist, pedagogue, and preacher. In 1831 he became bishop of Leitmeritz and three years afterward he was promoted to the archdiocese of Vienna. Milde was a friend of the emperor and a generous sponsor of good causes, but he is said to have hated the Jesuits and he has also been accused of Josephinistic leanings. The Bavarian leaders attacked him in the 1840's and he was opposed by his own people in 1848. On February 20, 1853, he wrote a pastoral letter concerning the plot against the new emperor whom Providence preserved for 65 more years, but in less than a month Milde's dead body rested in St. Stephen's cathedral.¹⁷

¹⁶ P. Chrysostomus Verwyst, *Life and Labors of Rt. Rev. Fred-eric Baraga, First Bishop of Marquette, Mich., to Which are Added Short Sketches of the Lives and Labors of Other Indian Missionaries of the Northwest*, 465.

¹⁷ Wurzbach, *op. cit.*, s. v. Milde; Beidtel, *op. cit.*, 439.

Rauscher, the successor of Milde, had been ordained in 1823, and had been professor of church history and canon law. While a teacher, Rauscher had as pupils the future emperor Francis Joseph and the future Cardinal Schwarzenberg. The latter, remembering his professor, had him consecrated bishop of Seckau in 1849. Four years later Rauscher became archbishop of Vienna, and on January 2, 1856, the cardinalate was bestowed upon him. Curiously enough the case of Father Anton Guenther, a product of the romantic revival of Catholicism in German speaking lands and a protege of St. Clement Hofbauer, found these two prelates on opposite sides. Rauscher opposed Guenther while Schwarzenberg favored him.¹⁸

It was pointed out previously that nationalism had prompted the formation of missionary societies similar to but distinct from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith whose headquarters were in France. While that spirit was at work in the founding of the Leopoldine Society in Austria, its role was still more pronounced in the foundation of the Ludwig Mission Society in Bavaria. The two societies in the German speaking lands had much in common.¹⁹ In the first place each society drew its members from citizens of its own country. Secondly, both societies were interested in America. The Leopoldine Society helped America exclusively, while the Ludwig Society was primarily interested in the new world. Thirdly, both organizations had the same founder; Father Résé, after having induced the emperor of Austria to found a mission society, betook himself to Munich, the capital of Bavaria.

At the time Bavaria was an independent country of about 4,000,000 inhabitants, the third largest German state. In the contest for supremacy between Austria and Prussia, Bavaria held the balance of power, leaning somewhat toward Catholic Austria. While Bavaria had been traditionally Catholic, the Enlightenment had gradually infiltrated. Under Maximilian IV who ascended the throne in 1799 and under his prime minister Count Montgelas the Enlightenment was

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, s. v. Rauscher. Eduard Winter, *Die geistige Entwicklung Anton Guenthers und seiner Schule*, Paderborn, 1931, *passim*.

¹⁹ Unless otherwise indicated data on the Ludwig Mission Society is drawn from Theodore Roemer, *The Ludwig-Missionsverein and the Church in the United States (1838-1918)*.

enthroned while religious foundations were suppressed on a grand scale. Some of the friction between Church and State was removed by the concordat of 1817, a document which was drawn up only after Napoleon had made his exit from the stage of Europe, and within ten years Catholicism again flourished in Bavaria.²⁰

Louis I (1786-1868) succeeded to the throne in 1825. To the discomfort of Metternich he initiated liberal reforms and abolished censorship. Being himself married to a Protestant who remained such almost until her death, the king befriended Protestants and people of weak religious convictions. Not long after ascending the throne of Bavaria, Louis had a chance to see liberal or revolutionary ideas in action for the years 1830-31 were not quiet in Europe. The king of Bavaria was reminded of the fate of his godfather, Louis, the decapitated king of France, and gradually he became conservative and suppressed many of the liberties which he had granted. He interested himself in the Church, and when he appointed Carl Abel secretary of the interior, the influence of the Church was bound to increase for the latter was known to be very favorable to Catholicism. King Louis, however, remained a patron of the arts and a promoter of industry. Munich became an artists' mecca, and at his command the first German railroad was built between Fuerth and Nuernberg. Later he undermined himself politically by playing Romeo to the danseuse Lola Montez. Though he resigned on her account, ironically enough, he never saw her again. Lola had been the Lorelei for the Bavarian Pericles whose son occupied the throne of Greece.²¹ Though the king was advanced in age when he resigned in 1848, he outlived that date by two decades. He died in 1868 and was buried in the vast basilica which he had reared in Munich.

Louis I had a strong dislike for everything French and a strong love for everything German. In this he was antipodal

²⁰ Mary Kohler, *Life and Work of Benedicta Bauer*, 25. Henry Channon, *The Ludwigs of Bavaria*, 1-57. Chester Higby, *The Religious Policy of the Bavarian Government During the Napoleonic Period*, *passim*. Herbert Eulenberg, *Die letzten Wittelsbacher*, 25-102.

²¹ Edmund D'Auvergne, *Lola Montez*, 107-177. Horace Wyndham, *The Magnificent Montez*, 91-149.

to his predecessor who had idolized France. Fortunately Louis' love for things German did not make him hostile to the Church. He did, however, hate the Jesuits, believing that their education was not sufficiently nationalistic, and although he regulated some aspects of ecclesiastical life meticulously, few found much to criticize in his administration.

Father Résé, in 1828 or 1829, endeavored to have a Bavarian society organized to aid the missions but he was not so successful with the Wittelsbach Louis as he had been with the Hapsburg Francis. The spirit had indeed been developed by articles in the influential journal, *Katholik*, a number of priests were interested in the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, and the king was well disposed, but the politics of the epoch prompted the king to refuse permission for such a society. Father Willibald Mathaeser, an authority on the subject, writes of Louis I, "In his country he could not allow an imitation of the Vienna Leopoldine Society whose foundation had been accompanied by anti-French motives, because it was advantageous to him to assure France of Bavaria's independence of Austrian politics."²² King Louis, however, at this early date, showed his good will by approving a collection for Résé and the Orient under date of November 27, 1828. This collection was gathered primarily among the clergy, and the second provincial council of Baltimore in 1833 was so impressed by Bavarian generosity that it delegated Archbishop Whitfield of Baltimore to thank the archbishop of Munich in behalf of the Church in America.

Meanwhile Father Résé was working hard in America ever since his return in December, 1829. When Bishop Fenwick had died, Résé was appointed administrator of the diocese of Cincinnati during which time he founded the first German church beyond the Alleghenies. Résé's fame must have been considerable because he was offered the mitre a number of times and in 1833 he accepted the see of Detroit. There he built the second German church west of the Alleghenies and he also founded several schools. Résé, then, was the first German

²² Willibald Mathaeser, *Der Ludwig-Missionsverein in der Zeit König Ludwigs I. von Bayern*, 40. Footnote 8 suggests that this statement is backed by diplomatic correspondence.

bishop in the United States, not counting Graessl who was to have been Archbishop Carroll's coadjutor. Before this, the French monopoly on the episcopal dignity had been broken by the Irish, and the Irish hegemony was weakened by the advancement of a German. Thus began a long turbulent chapter in the history of the relationship between racial groups and the hierarchy.²³

Within four years, in April, 1837, Résé tendered his resignation, but apparently it was not accepted. In the following year Bishop Résé appeared in Munich with all the glamor of the episcopacy, and King Louis of Bavaria was more interested in him than ever. The result was the approval of a new mission society, which after some discussion was named the Ludwig Society in honor of the king. Offices were established in Munich. Two-thirds of the funds collected were allotted to Asia and North America and one-third to the Franciscan Fathers who cared for the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. This last portion, however, was never to exceed 6,000 gulden.²⁴

One may wonder why Résé was so successful in his second Munich venture. The answer seems to be that besides enjoying the prestige of the episcopacy, he enjoyed the friendship of Joseph von Goerres, a professor and author who was highly esteemed by King Louis for his valiant and decisive role in the recent Cologne disturbances. Of course, in 1829 Bishop Sailer, an equally celebrated scholar, had tried to help him, but the time for success was not yet ripe.²⁵ Moreover, the collection for America had unostentatiously made propaganda for the missionary cause. The fact that the French mission society in 1838 had 10,200 members in Bavaria shows how widespread was the interest in the missions. Then, too, it is said that Father Dubuisson, a Jesuit from America, had visited the king in 1836 and had made a lasting impression on him.²⁶ It

²³ Scattered references to this antagonism are made by Theodore Maynard, *The Story of American Catholicism*, New York, Macmillan, 1941, 220-48; Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll*, 725.

²⁴ The gulden was worth almost fifty cents. In 1876 Bavaria adopted the Mark of the German empire.

²⁵ Mathaeser, *op. cit.*, 45-47.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 72. Bruté considered Dubuisson, 1786-1864, as episcopal timber. See *Catholic Historical Review*, 1943, 29:193.

must be added that Father Henni of Cincinnati, a prominent German-American and later archbishop of Milwaukee, had visited Munich in 1836. Canon Speth urged him to write something about his diocese, namely Cincinnati, and this resulted in a work of 136 pages entitled *Ein Blick ins Thal des Ohio oder Briefe über den Kampf und das Wiederaufleben der katholischen Kirche im fernen Westen der Vereinigten Staaten Nordamerikas*, published in Munich. Three thousand copies of this were printed and distributed gratis in Bavaria. This work had an effect in Bavaria which was similar to the result of the pamphlet which Résé had published in 1829 just before the foundation of the Austrian society.²⁷ All these elements taken together explain why Bavaria was ready for a missionary society in 1838 and not a decade earlier.

Bishop Résé in a document drawn at Munich and dated April 22, 1838, petitioned the king formally to establish a mission society, and on July 17, 1838, Louis I signed a document commanding the establishment of such an organization. He insisted that the society serve only Bavaria, and that it resemble the Leopoldine Society. The king, moreover, wanted no special prayers prescribed, and he demanded that an annual report of the society be submitted to the government. The procedure of collecting funds was similar to that of the organizations at Lyons and Vienna.

The new mission society began its great work at once. It was the swan song of Bishop Résé, for in 1840 the fourth provincial council of Baltimore promoted his resignation. The reasons are only speculations. There were financial difficulties, there were differences of opinion between Résé and his fellow workers in the vineyard of the Lord, he did not agree with the Poor Clare nuns in his diocese and was threatened by Rome regarding his actions, and finally word spread that the bishop

²⁷ The contents of Henni's book are very general, mentioning data on schools, state aid to missionaries working among Indians, German immigration, the Leopoldine Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, attitudes of Protestants, the work of the Redemptorists and individuals like Mazzuchelli and Baraga. Henni remarked the Germans in America were planting vineyards, but the wine was not very palatable; beer promised to be better because grain flourished in the United States.

was losing his sanity. In naming a successor, Rome withheld the title bishop and regarded him only as administrator. Résé went to Rome where he stayed in a religious community till 1849, when he was transferred to a hospital in Lappenburg, Germany, where he lived until his death on December 29, 1871.

Father Roemer, in totalling the contributions of Bavaria to the United States, remarks that although the actual figure for the period 1844-1916 is \$892,898, a more accurate computation would place the total at one million dollars.²⁸ In 1848 the Ludwig Society began publishing reports similar to the *Berichte* of the Leopoldine Society, which continued to appear until 1918. The society is still in existence, and its archives in Munich are a rich treasury for the historian of the Church in America.²⁹

In 1848 an attempt was made to expand the society's membership by appealing to Germans living in states other than Bavaria, but only the diocese of Freiburg in Baden affiliated itself with Munich. Some states refrained, owing to jealousy of Bavaria's prestige, while others saw no reason for seceding from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. Consequently, it must be remembered that the two German societies were not the exclusive vehicles which conveyed all German alms to the missionary world.

Of the three societies, the oldest has become the most important.³⁰ The Leopoldine Society passed out of existence with the outbreak of World War I, while the Ludwig Mission Society still exists and has its offices in Munich, but it is a branch of the papal Society for the Propagation of the Faith.

²⁸ Roemer, *The Ludwig-Missionsverein*, 138.

²⁹ The early correspondence between the archdiocese of Milwaukee and the society is being published serially in *Salesianum*, 1942, 37:26-30.

³⁰ Its importance depends not only upon its growth but also upon the change of its status. Pope Pius XI on May 3, 1922, moved the headquarters of the society to Rome and placed the society under the Congregation of the Propaganda. Since this change was made in the third month of his pontificate it is obvious that it had been previously contemplated. The encyclical *Maximum Illud*, issued November 30, 1919, by Benedict XV, incisively criticized clerical jealousy and nationalism, although it praised the society by name. Roemer, *Ten Decades of Alms*, 217-20, discusses the change from the standpoint of the bishops of the United States.

CHAPTER III

AUSTRIANS AND AMERICANS WRITE ABOUT EACH OTHER¹⁾

Since it was an American priest who induced the officials of the Austrian Empire to approve a society which would bring into close contact devout Catholics living in these dissimilar countries it is of some importance to know, at least in a general way, what Austrians thought about Americans, and, conversely, what Americans thought about Austrians. Doubtless many of the contemporary eulogies and diatribes were oral and consequently elude the historian's dragnet, but the written works of prominent characters indicate that the two countries agreed like fire and water. In view of this mutual aversion, it is all the more remarkable that Austria espoused the missions in the United States even in a small way.

In the United States little interest was shown in Austria prior to 1815 when Vienna became the meeting place for the peace conference which ended the Napoleonic regime and which remade the map of Europe. It was due to the activities emanating from the Congress of Vienna that Monroe propounded his doctrine in 1823 expressing the American attitude on foreign intervention in America. Thereby he talked directly to Austria, whose spirit dominated the leading powers of the continent even though Austria itself did not appear to be seeking territorial expansion.

In the same year that Monroe made his significant pronouncement Karl Postl, a monk, disappeared from Austria. While police were combing Europe, Charles Sealsfield arrived in New Orleans to begin a tour of southwestern United States and Mexico. Forty years later the identity between the author

¹ This chapter is limited to Austrian and American authors. Obviously Americans also read books about Austria which emanated from the British Isles. As an example may be cited John Russell, *A Tour in Germany and Some of the Southern Provinces of the Austrian Empire in 1820, 1821, and 1822*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, Constable, and Co., 1828. For unfriendliness both to the Church and Austria, see 2:202-210, 231.

Sealsfield and the monk Postl was established.² While he spent only a short time in America, he absorbed its ideals and became a promoter of American culture, liberty, and democracy as opposed to the culture and absolutism of Austria.

In 1827 Sealsfield published in Germany *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika nach ihren politischen, religiösen und gesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen betrachtet*, and the following year an English version appeared in two volumes entitled *The United States of North America as They Are*, and *The Americans as They Are Described in a Tour Through the Valley of the Mississippi*. The former work is of a political nature. Its preface points out that by the Monroe Doctrine the United States has taken a *de facto* part in the political affairs of Europe, it observes that the principle of monarchism was growing and that social orders were slowly evolving. In the course of the work President Monroe is praised and Washington is eulogized while the Holy Alliance is scorned. The latter work, which was accorded a more friendly reception, discusses a variety of topics such as canals, Owen's settlement, disrespect of the Sabbath, hospitals, orphanages, and the things which usually interested the legion of travel literature writers in the last century. He disapproved slavery but he was not an abolitionist because he thought white people could not labor in the heat of the South, and though he recognized the problem of property rights, he insisted that the slaves be treated kindly. Sealsfield said little about religion; he did, however, observe that ministers had little influence in Ohio whose people he regarded as free from western rudeness and from Yankee williness. In New Orleans he found religion sadly neglected as was evident from the fact that four churches served 40,000

² Sealsfield was born March 3, 1793, at Poppitz, near Znaim. In 1808 he became a student of the Knights of the Cross in Prague, in 1814 he was ordained priest, and within two years he was appointed secretary of the order.

The literature on Sealsfield is vast. Worthy specimens include Albert B. Faust, *Charles Sealsfield Der Dichter beider Hemisphären Sein Leben und Seine Werke*; William Dallmann, *The Spirit of America as Interpreted in the Works of Charles Sealsfield*; Otto Heller, *The Language of Charles Sealsfield A Study in Atypical Usage*; B. A. Uhlendorf, "Charles Sealsfield, Ethnic Elements and National Problems in his Works," in *Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois*, 1920-1, XX-XXI, 9-250.

people. While Bishop Du Bourg was learned, he enjoyed little popularity, but the Capuchin Père Antoine had a large following in the city.³

Sealsfield was very hostile to Catholicism although he was careful not to write lengthy tirades.⁴ When he wrote of Mexico he blamed the Catholic Church for the sad conditions existing there. In *Die Vereinigten Staaten* he wrote that the American preacher recognized the sovereignty of the people, the Catholic priest, that of the pope, and that the American preacher has his mind set upon enlightening his congregation, the Catholic priest, upon keeping it in darkness.⁵

In Europe Sealsfield applied to Metternich for a position in the Austrian secret police, and after having been refused he published *Oesterreich wie es ist*. In 1828 the London firm of Hurst, Chance and Co. published a translation, *Austria as It Is or Sketches of Continental Courts by an Eye Witness*. The tone of the book is discernible in its brief introduction:

"So perfect and so cunning an absolutism as that of Austria has perhaps never existed in any civilized country. We doubt that this system will produce the desired fruits. 'The crusades,' says Schiller, 'were at first undertaken to weaken the power of the princes and to extend the power of the pope to Asia. They accomplished just the opposite, they destroyed the temporal rule of the holy see.' The crusades against the freedom of the peoples and progress will doubtless have the same effect. They will destroy that which they should strengthen, the foundations of despotism."⁶

About the same time the ex-monk, who had revisited the

³ Sealsfield, *Americans as They Are*, 17, 148, 177, 182-3. Both of the above named volumes were reviewed in the *North American Review*, 1828, 27:415-437. One reason why this magazine devoted so much space to Sealsfield's twin works was because the *London Monthly Review* had rendered adverse criticism. The American journal called *The United States* "vile trash," but it regarded the other book favorably.

⁴ For excerpts see Dallmann, *op. cit.*, 24-35.

⁵ Sealsfield, *The United States of North America As They Are*, 162. On p. 156 he brands the meetings of the Methodists as offensive to religion and morality.

Sealsfield never returned to the Catholic Church. When death approached, F. Hemmann, a Protestant minister, gave him the Lord's Supper. He died in Switzerland on May 26, 1864.

⁶ In 1828 a French edition of the work appeared. In 1830 the work was surreptitiously printed in Brussels, and in 1834 a somewhat changed copy appeared in Leipzig.

United States in 1827, wrote *Tokeah*, an Indian story. Like Cooper and Chateaubriand, Sealsfield soon found that this was the sort of literature that attracted the public's fancy. It was not long before *Tokeah* had gone through four English and six German editions, and in 1833 it appeared in a revised form under the name *Der Legitime oder die Republikaner*. Many, however, regard the *Kajueten-Buch*, a story of the Texan War of Independence, as his greatest work. Sealsfield's literary output was greatest between 1834 and 1843. By using American themes he focused European eyes upon the United States, and, while he promoted the revolution of 1848, he lived long enough to see it fizzle out like a poor fire cracker, and this apparently induced him to dry his pen and lay it aside.

Of a less exciting nature but of more importance than Sealsfield's many books was Johann Huelsemann's *Geschichte der Demokratie in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord Amerika*, which appeared in 1823 at Goettingen. Its 388 pages discussed American colonial development state by state. Some observations contained in the book are that in America there was only a third estate; the predominant sentiment was anti-Catholic and adverse to the monarchical and aristocratic interests of Austria. The rise of the democratic party was a cause of sorrow in Europe because it threatened to frustrate the hopes of Hamilton and Washington. The defeat of England removed all restraint on anti-European activity, and it took away the restraint on anti-Christian and anarchical elements. He regarded the Society of the Cincinnati to honor prominent characters in the American Revolution as an anti-democratic force, and hence he liked it. Washington, in his eyes, had a right to decline a third term, but his action was regretted in Europe by all who wanted to see the civilized world shielded from the growing dominance of the French Revolution. Huelsemann ridiculed Montesquieu's theory of separation of powers, believing that the all important factor in the American government was the legislature, and he thought that consequently the administration of justice was corrupted. Irreligion in his opinion was spreading, and he quoted Morris Birkbeck to the effect that in Illinois, for example, baptism, marriage rites, and solemn burial were unknown. The author of this work was an

intimate of Metternich, and since he later was connected with the Austrian legation in Washington for twenty-five years his picture of America carried weight in Europe.⁷

During his stay in America, Huelsemann visited the Catholic colony in Maine which had been founded by Bishop Fenwick of Boston. It was but one of many colonial experiments tried in the last century. Huelsemann disapproved of religious as well as national separatism, and he urged the emigres to learn the language of their adopted fatherland. In this Huelsemann voiced Europe's prudent fear that foreign blocs in America would influence European politics in a revolutionary way.⁸

It was not until 1842, when Canon Joseph Salzbacher, the editor of the *Berichte*, a Scripture scholar and a widely travelled man, came to America, fortified with numerous introductions and recommendations, that a thorough study of the United States was made from a Catholic standpoint for the benefit of Austria's reading public. In 1845 he published his observations in a book which is a veritable encyclopedia on America and the Church.⁹ Though not a work of literary excellence, it includes statistics, historical data, and observations on things so diversified as water-works, college catalogues, menus, hotels, and church architecture. Moreover, it is not exclusively a book of personal observations. In many places Salzbacher copied long passages verbatim out of the *Berichte* which he usually indicates in a footnote. He also quoted Marryat, an occasional

⁷ From 1838 to 1841 Huelsemann was secretary of the legation, from 1841 to 1855 chargé d'affaires, from 1855 to 1863 minister resident. For Huelsemann's attitude on contemporary affairs see Merle Curti, "Austria and the United States 1848-1852, A Study in Diplomatic Relations," *Smith College Studies in History*, 11:141-206.

⁸ See Clarence W. Efroymson, "An Austrian Diplomat in America, 1840," *American Historical Review*, 1936, 41:503-514 for data on Huelsemann and some of the reports.

⁹ Joseph Salzbacher, *Meine Reise nach Nord-Amerika im Jahre 1842 Mit statistischen Bemerkungen über die Zustände der katholischen Kirche bis auf die neueste Zeit*, Vienna, Wimmer, Schmidt and Leo, 1845.

Huelsemann was helpful to him while he was in Washington. See p. 147. For other recommendations including the papal consul, Desmont, in Philadelphia see pp. 115-6. He was recommended to Ticknor of Harvard by Prince John of Saxony, but Ticknor was absent so Salzbacher did not see so much of Harvard as he had wished, see p. 280.

reference to Bancroft is made, and the Catholic Directory yielded the statistics. He also drew on the works of Francis Gerstner (b. Prague 1793), a celebrated Austrian engineer, who had studied English railroads carefully and who in 1834 had built the first railroad in Russia connecting St. Petersburg with Zarskoje-Selo. In 1838 he came to America where he died suddenly in 1840. Two years later his wife published *Beschreibung einer Reise durch die Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika*, which in 456 pages touches on the usual topics which interested foreign travellers. The nationality of Gerstner and the fact that the book appeared just when Salzbacher was in America explain why a clergyman incorporated mechanical matters into a general book of travel.¹⁰

From time to time Austrian Catholics got glimpses of America in their magazines. In Vienna there appeared from 1819-23 a small magazine, *Oelzweige*, which had been inspired by St. Clement M. Hofbauer. While its contents were generally of little importance, the magazine culled remarks pertaining to the missions from the *Diario di Roma*, a Dominican publication which naturally was interested in the order's work in Kentucky and Ohio. In 1822, for example, the Austrians read that Detroit had 350 Catholic families and that the neighborhood was populated with French Canadians. They learned that Michilimackinac had eighty Catholic families and about 1,200 Indians whom Father Marquette, S.J., had converted. Even remote Green Bay was mentioned as having sixty Catholic families. These were the very places which a decade later were to mean much to the Austrians because Résé became bishop of that area and Austrian priests brought the message of salvation to the Indians of that far flung diocese.¹¹ The *Katholische Blätter aus Tirol*, which was published at Innsbruck relatively late, starting in 1843, are rich in references to the American missions. At first Father Inama, O.Praem., was especially featured because he left Tirol and worked primarily among

¹⁰ See Salzbacher, *op. cit.*, 82, 176. Gerstner's book mentions Girard College and also the Sisters of the Visitation. For Girard College see Chapter VI of this work.

¹¹ *Oelzweige*, 1819, 1:41-43, 45-48, 79-80; 1822, 4:306-7.

German-Americans.¹² After the *Berichte* began to appear, its articles were often quoted in Austrian magazines. The *Berichte* rarely touched on American or European politics, but limited itself to purely religious subjects.

While knowledge of America was not extensive in Austria at this time, little may be said in favor of what the ordinary Yankee knew of the Hapsburg Empire.¹³ Samuel Morse was one of the few who, believing himself well informed, wrote extensively about Austria. Having sprung from the soil of New England, he was easily terrified by the dictum of the illustrious convert to Catholicism, Friedrich Schlegel, to the effect that the revolutions to which European governments had been so long subjected were the natural effects of the Protestant Reformation.

It is not surprising that Morse became unduly excited, for his father had been a Congregationalist minister in Boston and devoutly believed in the fable of Maria Monk. Hearing of the Leopoldine Society which had been founded in Vienna to help the Catholic Church in America, Morse Jr. sat down and wrote a series of articles for the *New York Observer* which he later published in book form under the title *Foreign Conspiracy Against the Liberties of the United States*.¹⁴ Therein he exposed his fear of the Jesuits and alleged that within two years \$100,000 had been received from Austria. The book excoriated Austria as a partitioner of Poland, an oppressor of Italy, and a member of the Holy Alliance. In a way, he hated Austria more than the Vatican because he believed that the pope was subordinate to Austria. The inventor was ruffled by Catholic

¹² The first issue of the *Katholische Blätter*, for example, has references to the American missions on pages 475, 509, 527, 574, 589, 604, 621, 637, 668, 733.

Chrysostomus, a Catholic monthly of Regensburg edited by Franz Haeglsperger who was a pious follower of Bishop Sailer, was distributed in Vienna by the Mechitarists. It contains a few references to the missions drawn from the publications of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, e.g., Oct. 1836, Sept. 1838.

¹³ Americans apparently were little interested in the prominent Catholic aspects of German and Austrian Romanticism. This appears from Scott Goodnight, *German Literature in American Magazines prior to 1846*.

¹⁴ Samuel Morse, *Foreign Conspiracy Against the Liberties of the United States*, New York, 1835.

priests lamenting religious indifference in America, and eulogizing Austria as the *felix patria*. Although some of the letters of the priests to Austrian benefactors are flattering, few men would have been excited by such conventional attempts at gaining good will. Morse, to be sure, had more than Austria to worry about for he knew the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in France had enjoyed the favor of the conservative King Charles X, and he also had observed that American prelates such as Cheverus and Du Bourg had been promoted to prominent posts in France after leaving the United States.¹⁵

Morse also edited *The Proscribed German Student Being a Sketch of Some Interesting Incidents in the Life and Melancholy Death of the Late Lewis Clausing to Which is Added a Treatise on the Jesuits: The Post-humous Work of Lewis Clausing* (New York, 1836). The editor admitted that in publishing this work he made available to the public the product of a diseased mind, but that did not deter him from giving consideration to what was said by the author. Clausing, a student at Heidelberg, had his hat knocked off by an ecclesiastic who grew irate during a procession. Not to be outdone, Clausing shot him. In the early thirties Clausing made a visit to America, and in his treatise he claimed that hundreds of Jesuits, expert in espionage, were in the employ of the Leopoldine Society, which was subsidiary to the Holy Alliance. Considerable

¹⁵ Cheverus had fled from France to Boston during the French Revolution, and, after serving New England for twenty-seven years, in 1823 he was given the see of Montauban, France. Three years later he was made archbishop of Bordeaux; King Charles X of France made him a peer, and the pope made him a cardinal. Du Bourg, a refugee from Santo Domingo, had been president of Georgetown College from 1796-99 and after resigning as bishop of New Orleans in 1826, he was appointed bishop of Montauban, and in 1833 he was transferred to the archdiocese of Besancon.

Though pertaining to a later period, it is interesting to note that when Napoleon III was condemned to exile after trying to invade France he went to the United States. The boat, or at least one of the boats, which transported him was commanded by Louis de St. Palais. The imperial exile was treated so well that upon attaining power, he wanted to make the commander a senator. Louis de St. Palais declined the honor, and in 1857 Napoleon endeavored to honor the family by asking his brother, the bishop of Vincennes, Ind., to accept the archdiocese of Toulouse. He, like his brother, declined all honors. H. Alerding, *A History of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of Vincennes*, 206-7.

space was devoted to the Catholic schools of America which were attended by many Protestants who were not allowed to use their bibles in school. The fact that the Jesuit order was revived almost simultaneously with the birth of the Holy Alliance led many to postulate a relationship, and the suspicion was intensified by the fact that the Jesuits, during their suppression, had been favored by Russia, a member of the Holy Alliance.¹⁶

Lyman Beecher was another American who introduced Austria to the reading public of the United States. He was a Presbyterian minister of New England origin, an ardent enemy of intemperance, and a crusader against Unitarians and Catholics. In fact, his ravings were partly responsible for the sack of the Ursuline convent in Charlestown, outside Boston. When Lane Theological Seminary was founded in Cincinnati he was chosen its first president, and in 1832 he took up his duties there together with the pastoral care of the Second Presbyterian Church. Beecher had sufficient troubles with his own flock, but those did not exhaust his energy. So in 1835 he published *A Plea for the West*, a small book of 172 pages in which he stressed the great value of the Mississippi Valley and how likely it might become overwhelmingly Catholic. He worried frantically about the Leopoldine Society although he never mentioned it by name; he only spoke of Vienna.

"It is the testimony of American travelers, that the territorial, civil and ecclesiastical statistics of our country, and the action and bearing

¹⁶ Morse's attitude toward Catholicism has often been discussed, yet few have stressed his opinion of Austria. A representative essay is that of Francis Connors, "Samuel Finley Breese Morse and the Anti-Catholic Political Movements in the United States 1791-1872," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 1927, 10:83-122.

Even Congress was made aware of worries like those that upset Morse. On February 14, 1838, a memorial of James Miller and 96 other electors of Washington County, New York, urged a revision of the laws regulating the naturalization of foreigners.

"Your memorialists, unwilling to encroach further on your patience, earnestly petition your honorable body to inquire . . . whether there be not a plan in operation, powerful and dangerous, under the management of the Leopold Foundation for the subversion of our civil and religious liberties, to be effected by the emigration of Roman Catholics from Europe, and by their admission to the right of suffrage with us in our political institutions." *House of Representatives, Executive Documents*, 25 Congress, 2 session, No. 154.

Ibid., No. 70 has a similar proposition, although neither the word Catholic nor Leopold is mentioned.

of political causes upon our institutions, are more familiar at Rome and Vienna, than with us."¹⁷

Like Morse, he pointed out that the pope was the creature of Austria, and that the people had grumbled as soon as Gregory XVI was elected on February 2, 1831. As a matter of fact, immediately after his election the revolutions in northern Italy gave him an opportunity to call in the soldiers of Austria. On February 4 a revolution occurred in Bologna and three weeks later an Austrian force was dispatched to the city. As usual, order was soon restored. Although the Austrian troops withdrew on July 15 of that same year, a new uprising in December ended in Austrian surveillance for a period of seven years. The situation was complicated still more by the French government which sent troops to Ancona and kept them there just as long as the Austrians occupied Bologna.

To be an Austrian was a genuine calamity in the minds of some men. Beecher quoted an "intelligent American traveller," by the name of Dwight:

"What are the people of Austria? They are slaves, slaves in body and mind, whipped and disciplined by priests to have no opinion of their own, and taught to consider their emperor their God. They are the jest and by-word of the northern Germans, who never speak of Austrians but with a sneer, and 'as slaves unworthy the name of Germans; as slaves both mentally and physically.' "¹⁸

The school situation infuriated Beecher because it seemed that Catholics were drawing money out of Europe to build

¹⁷ Lyman Beecher, *A Plea for the West*, 53. F. Marryat, a foreign visitor, said that it seemed as if everything west of the Alleghenies would become Catholic, *Diary in America*, first series, 222. The Leopoldine Society is referred to on the same page. Robert Baird, *Religion in America Or An Account of the Origin, Progress, Relation to the State, And Present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States With Notices of the Unevangelical Denominations*, 1844, 271, "Large sums are received from the Propaganda Society in France, and the Leopold Society in Austria. It is believed that nearly \$135,000 were received in 1842 from these two sources." A later edition also refers to European contributions.

¹⁸ Beecher, *op. cit.*, 142. Russell, *op. cit.*, 2:210, coincides with this: "Though the Austrians have no great capacity for thinking and a very great capacity for immorality and superstition, much of both must be ascribed to that total prostration of intellect which their government inflicts upon them." On p. 231 he says "the priesthood lends its aid to fetter thought and perpetuate superstition."

schools to convert non-Catholics. In his diatribe just quoted he proceeded to criticize St. Mary's College, Baltimore; Georgetown; the Athenaeum; and St. Joseph's College, Bardstown, because all the students attended services and catechism classes. Thereafter he quoted from the *Annales*, the organ of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, how the schools make converts. Beecher concludes:

"It is time to awake out of sleep on the subject and that the sanction of a correct, concentrated, all-powerful public sentiment should stamp infatuation and shame upon it. Nothing fills the Catholics with such amazement and high hopes as the simple hearted credulity and recklessness of Protestants, in committing their children to their forming hand; and nothing certainly can be more wonderful or more fatal in its influence on our republican institutions."¹⁹

In order to appreciate the apprehensions of Beecher it must be recalled that west of the Alleghenies, schools were few and poor. Since schools were voluntary projects, the Church, by reason of her religious orders, was able to organize schools with comparative ease and to staff them with teachers who had attended Europe's best schools. The expense was not great because the curricula required little equipment. In some instances the first free schools on the frontier were Catholic schools, and Protestants had to choose between no school or a Catholic school. In other instances a choice had to be made between an English school and a school which taught German, and at times Protestants chose the latter even if it was Catholic. The extensive and efficient public school system of today came into existence only long after Beecher's book had been published.

Later in the book Beecher mentioned the three powerful societies of Rome, Vienna, and France. By Rome he probably meant the Propaganda, a missionary organization which dates

¹⁹ Beecher, *op. cit.*, 105. Marryat, *op. cit.*, 223, speaks well of priests as teachers. Baird, *op. cit.*, ed. of 1844, 271, observes that the Church promotes schools and has churchmen of considerable erudition.

It required little research to learn of the many Catholic schools. They were described at length in the annual Catholic directories. There many of the schools set forth what would be required from Protestants in regard to divine service and classes in religion.

from 1622. Although he called them powerful, Beecher probably understated his thought, for he followed that statement with the remark:

"We have accidentally fallen upon the items of fifty thousand dollars in one donation, and sixty thousand in another, and twenty thousand, besides the frequent recognition in their correspondence of efficacious aid, the amount of which is not named . . . But we need not the list of donations. The results that are starting up before our eyes, as if by magic, lift the veil, and discover that a portion of the resources which potentates once squandered in war are beginning to be appropriated in munitions for the moral conflict—the battle of institutions—and that the field of battle is the American Republic, and especially the West."²⁰

More than that, Beecher found cause for fear in the fact that Catholic Europeans were directed to settle down in compact groups over which the clergy dominated. He thought this was the strategy of conquering the West for Rome to regain what she lost by the spirit of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, a project comparable to the Church's having counter-balanced the losses of the Reformation in Europe by the conversion of savages in distant lands. But first and foremost to him was the threat of the Catholic schools and he exhorted all Protestants and lovers of the republic to come forward and provide the antidote.²¹

²⁰ Beecher, *op. cit.*, 113-15.

²¹ John Dunmore Lang, *Religion and Education in America With Notices of the State and Prospects of American Unitarianism, Popery, and African Colonization*, 1840, 397-99, observes that the Catholic clergy tried to get control of education and that the funds came from Italy, France and Austria. The author goes so far as to say: "There is reason to believe that previous to the French Revolution of 1830, there was a regularly organized conspiracy against the civil and religious liberties of the United States on the part of certain of the greater continental powers of Europe, and that the mode which was deemed the most likely to be successful in effecting their object, was that of monopolizing the education of the youth of the higher classes of society throughout the Union."

Andrew Reed and James Matheson, *A Narrative of the Visit to the American Churches by the Deputation from the Congregational Union of England and Wales*, 1835, 1:188, speaks of the abundance of Catholic schools which had good teachers; 2:106, "Large, yea princely grants have been made from the Leopold Society, and other sources, chiefly, though by no means exclusively, in favor of this portion of the empire that is to be [the West]. These sums are expended in erecting showy churches and colleges, and in sustaining priests and emissaries . . . They send out teachers excellently qualified; superior, certainly, to the run of native teachers. Some value the European modes of education, as the more excellent; others value them as the

While Beecher was an alarmist and while Catholics had no sinister plots in regard to the Mississippi Valley which promised a glorious future, the worries of Beecher and others indicate that the contributions of the Leopoldine Society were producing effects even out of proportion to their size. Though the Society for the Propagation of the Faith was more important it attracted far less attention, partly because it was older and lacked novelty, partly because its headquarters were in a nation that had been recently defeated, and partly because France and America had been political and intellectual friends of long standing. The Leopoldine Society, on the other hand, was suspected because its headquarters were in the same city that housed the headquarters of the Quadruple and of the Holy Alliance. Then, too, the dynasty which smiled on the society, and even gave it a name, threatened to grow more powerful, and the Hapsburgs had not been popular in America owing to their traditional friendship with the Catholic Church. Lastly, the Austrian society appeared on the scene at the critical moment when immigration began on a large scale and when the area beyond the Alleghenies, which already included many French Catholics, was being transformed into a settled area which could easily be developed commercially owing to the fertility of the soil and the possibility of using the rivers for transportation. Moreover, canal projects like the Fox-Wisconsin route had a significance in American thought of the last century that is hard to appreciate today.²²

mark of fashion; the demand for instruction, too, is always beyond the supply, so that they find little difficulty in obtaining the charge of Protestant children. This, in my judgment, is the point of policy which should be especially regarded with jealousy."

Bishop Bruté in a report of 1836 admitted that many Protestants attended Catholic schools and as a result became Catholic. See *Catholic Historical Review*, 1943, 29:230-1.

²² Reed and Matheson, *ibid.*, claimed that Catholics had the foresight to appreciate the potentialities of the West. Also 2:277, "If this empire shall regain its integrity, the West promises to become the seat of power; and whatever it ultimately becomes, the whole country will be. Every eye is fixed on it. The worldling looks to it as his paradise; the Papist looks to it as to another centre, where he may again elevate the crucifix, and assert the claims of St. Peter; and the infidel looks to it as a refuge where he may shake off the trammels of religion, and be at peace."

The Home Missionary and American Pastor's Journal (1839) 11:208, 224, laments Catholic strength in Illinois and mentions a Catholic boast "we have got the West."

Despite the absence of official hostilities between the United States and the Austrian Empire, some of the latter's policies contributed to her unpopularity in American circles. For instance, in a period which rhapsodized about self-determination, Austria suffered because of her holdings in Italy which impeded the unification of that country. Though there were too few Italians in the United States to influence public opinion, other nationalities united in vituperating Austria and sympathizing with Italy. This, incidentally, placed the Irish, including prominent foreign born prelates like Archbishop Hughes, in a difficult position because they approved Ireland's opposing England, and disapproved opposition to Austria while most Americans regarded the relationship between Austria and Italy as a parallel case. It is no surprise that rabid individuals acted rashly, but even men in high governmental station dared to applaud Austrian distress. When Venice proclaimed itself a republic in March, 1848, and the citizens assembled before the American consulate shouting, "Long live the United States; long live our sister Republic," the American consul, William Sparks of South Carolina, appeared bearing the flag of the United States and the Italian tricolor, assuring the audience

"that when the intelligence had traversed the Atlantic, that 'the ancient queen of the Adriatic' had thrown off the yoke of the stranger, and had again proclaimed herself a republic, there would be a simultaneous outburst of joy from one extremity of the union to the other."²³

The visit of Kossuth to the United States gave prominent Americans an opportunity to express their dislike of Austria, although most Catholics aligned themselves with Austria. The *North American Review* was one of the few non-Catholic publications which was hostile to Kossuth, and the author of the articles, Francis Bowen, soon learned that he had defended an unpopular cause, for his appointment to the department of history of Harvard University was not confirmed. Bowen's articles inspired in part at least the publication of Elizabeth Peabody,

²³ Howard Marraro, *American Opinion on the Unification of Italy, 1846-1861*, 36.

The Crimes of the House of Austria against Mankind.²⁴ Her book, despite its promising title, was only a compilation from the works of William Coxe and others, but at the very outset the New England authoress made a frontal attack on Friedrich Schlegel, who, in her phraseology, had "yoked himself as a drayhorse to the car of despotism and superstition."

Orestes Brownson, who for many years gave his dynamic views to the world in his *Review*, rarely referred to Austria. In January, 1852, he denounced Maria Theresa for having been a party to the partition of Poland, and he stigmatized her son, Joseph II, as "half-crazed" and "one of the worst enemies the church in modern times has had," but he eulogized Francis Joseph and declared Austria at the moment to be the most reliable Catholic power of Europe.²⁵ When Kossuth succeeded in winning widespread sympathy Brownson took the unpopular stand of opposing Kossuth and defending the status quo of Hungary.²⁶ Speaking of American knowledge of central Europe, Brownson said:

"Four years ago Hungary, to the great body of our people, even our educated people, was as much a *terra incognita* as the interior of Africa. Very few of them had any knowledge of its inhabitants, its domestic institutions, or its relations to the Austrian empire. Italian refugees and French liberals had prejudiced them against Austria, and prepared them to believe that any party opposed to her must be in the right. When, therefore, they heard Hungary had revolted and taken up arms against her, they took it for granted that the Hungarian cause was a good cause and deserving the sympathy of every American citizen, and every friend of liberty throughout the world."²⁷

²⁴ The book comprises 230 pages and is as dull as Coxe's historical writings. Peabody spent most of her long life (1804-94) in Boston. Besides being a teacher she was interested in transcendentalism and philanthropy. One of her sisters was married to Nathaniel Hawthorne, another to Horace Mann.

See also John Gazley, *American Opinion of German Unification 1848-1871*, 36, 57, 70; Oscar Handlin, *Boston's Immigrants 1790-1865*, 145; Raymond Billington, *The Protestant Crusade*, 330. Garrison's *Liberator* attacked Kossuth for not denouncing slavery.

²⁵ *The Works of Orestes A. Brownson*, ed. by Henry F. Brownson, 10:381-87; 16:128.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 16:178-251.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 16:215.

Louis Kossuth's speaking engagements in the United States during the first half of 1852 elicited a wave of anti-Catholic and anti-Austrian denunciations. He left the country in July of that year, but in June, 1853, Archbishop Bedini, the papal representative at the court of Pedro II of Brazil, arrived in the United States. The riots which greeted him are well known, but they are usually summarized as evidence of the contemporary hatred of Catholics. While they are an index of that, they also reflect the attitude toward Austria, because one of the prime movers, Alessandro Gavazzi, made a specialty of falsely denouncing Bedini, the former governor of Bologna, for the execution of Ugo Bassi who had led an Italian revolt against the Austrian government.

In conclusion it may be said that most of the descriptions of Austria current in the United States prior to 1860 were antagonistic because Austria had favored the status quo in Europe as of 1815 and also the Catholic Church which was then enjoying a revival. Her attitudes were a reaction to the Enlightenment, and if Austria befriended the Catholic Church which was an obstacle to that movement, it was only natural that non-Catholics in America, who were eager to be considered enlightened, despised her for that reason.²⁸ Moreover, many of the American agitators against Austria and the Church were political exiles or fugitives from monarchical governments and hence spoke and acted out of personal motives.²⁹ Some of these characters were able propagandists and in America they were zealous apostles of the Enlightenment, spurred on by the fear of a great triumph of the Church in America. Indeed, not all Americans were influenced by this crusade, but the intelligentsia was. The humble folk who wrested a meagre living from the soil or the work-bench paid little attention to European affairs. As time went on the opinion became general that

²⁸ How widely the Enlightenment was diffused in the United States can be seen in recent works such as Herbert Morais, *Deism in Eighteenth Century America*; Albert Post, *Popular Free-thought in America, 1825-1850*.

²⁹ For literary attacks upon the Church in Austria, see Otto Rommel, *Der österreichische Vormärz 1816-1847*, 167-97.

Austria-Hungary as a power in American affairs was becoming less and less worthy of attention, and the Catholic Church, on the other hand, grew stronger and became more and more indigenous to the United States.³⁰

³⁰ In Austria a number of authors occasionally touched upon America in their writings. Nicholas Lenau embarked for America at Amsterdam on August 1, 1832, ready to be enraptured by Niagara and the primeval forest, but by October 16 of that year he was ridiculing the United States and in May, 1833, he returned to Austria, bored especially by the *Handelsgeist* of the Americans.

Ferdinand Kuernberger produced a novel of 503 pages which was entitled *Der Amerika-Müde Amerikanisches Kulturbild*, Frankfurt, 1855. The author had never been in America but he synthesized a number of works on America, concluding that it was a terrible place. Even the much vaunted constitution pointed only to anarchy or despotism. While there is some space given to Protestantism, Catholicism is ignored. On p. 266 he calls Philadelphia a Zion of clerical hypocrisy and makes a remark favorable to Girard who was regarded as quite impious. Kuernberger had been born in Vienna in 1821 but he had to leave his country because he had been involved in the disturbances of 1848. He dabbled in politics and specialized in socialism.

Others such as Ernst Freiherr von Feuchtersleben (1806-1849) and Anastasius Gruen (Graf Anton von Auersperg) of Laibach were favorable to the United States but did not treat of it at length.

See Hildegard Meyer, *Nord-Amerika im Urteil des Deutschen Schrifttums bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts Eine Untersuchung über Kuernbergers "Amerika-Müden,"* Hamburg, Friederichsen, de Gruyter Co., 1929; George Mulfinger, *Ferdinand Kuernberger's Roman "Der Amerika-Müde," dessen Quellen und Verhältnis zu Lenaus Amerikareise*, Philadelphia, German American Annals Press, 1903; Paul C. Weber, *America in Imaginative German Literature in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*, New York, Columbia University, 1926.

CHAPTER IV

THE AMERICAN MISSION FIELD

The word "mission" usually calls to mind a distant region populated by heathens of unfamiliar race, strange speech, and curious customs. Ordinarily such a picture fits the facts, but not always. In Germany, for example, there was the diaspora, which was a mission field. The United States similarly was a polyglot diaspora undergoing constant change, begetting alternately hope and despair. The main work of the Church in America was primarily to preserve an endangered faith, rather than expel paganism or eradicate heresy. True, there were Indians in America, savage and exotic as any mission picture could offer, and the early missionaries who came in the wake of Columbus had aimed to save their souls and confer upon them the benefits of civilization, but the work of the early Black Robes was hindered and often destroyed by the material development of the thirteen colonies. In the nineteenth century new interest was shown in the Indians as potential Christians, and even when thousands of immigrants in America languished spiritually from lack of priestly ministrations, there were a few who believed that the Indians should be cared for in preference to the immigrants, because the latter had voluntarily selected their lot and consequently deserved less pity than the former who involuntarily lacked the faith. The Leopoldine Society in the first decade of its existence devoted itself especially to the conversion of the Indians, and the *Berichte*, the official organ of the society, broadcast to Austria the success of Baraga and his confrères among the aborigines in the Great Lakes region. Within fifteen years, however, the Leopoldine Society realized that the conversion of the Indians was an extremely difficult task and that well ordered charity should begin with those of the household of the faith, namely, the immigrants from Europe. Accordingly, the *Berichte* began to inform Austrians more of the Germans in America and less of the Indians, although throughout the period of 1830-60 the Indian missions always received some publicity and financial aid.

The nature of European interest in the American Indians has always been determined by the trend of European thought. In the sixteenth century the Indians attracted attention because they were something new. The early explorers kidnapped specimens to be paraded through Europe as curiosities. The attraction wore off when they proved to be nothing but awkward and listless savages who could not even be used for servants or slaves.¹ However, when the eighteenth century, with tastes jaded by a superabundance of superficial refinement, began expounding its philosophical theories of the noble savage, the Indians became popular in literature. As Tacitus of old praised the simplicity of German life, the sages of the eighteenth century eulogized the Indians, not indeed as they were, but as they were thought to be. Men who denied the biblical Paradise created an imaginary Eden on the banks of the Wabash or Ohio Rivers. Later on, romanticists, like Chateaubriand, author of *Atala*, wrote interestingly about the Indians, the Austrian Sealsfield gave them publicity in his novels, and all Europe was captivated by the novels of James Fenimore Cooper which were translated as soon as they appeared in English. While the Enlightenment had rhapsodized about the Indians and perhaps revered their simplicity, Romanticism of the Catholic stamp tried to confer upon them the benefits of Christianity. This new enthusiasm was of short duration and it terminated at the time when immigration began to attract general attention in both Europe and America.²

¹ As late as 1827 David Delaunay, a French resident of St. Louis for twenty-five years, Paul Loise, and M. Tesson took several Osage Indians to Europe in order to exhibit them. That same year a brochure appeared in Paris entitled *Histoire de la Tribu des Osages*. The Indians were received at many gatherings of high society, and they were also presented at the court of King Charles X. In France Delaunay was arrested for debts dating from 1799, so the Indians were stranded. Lafayette interested himself in their behalf, and so did Bishop Du Bourg of Montauban, who had been an American bishop. The Indians returned to the United States in 1830. See *Missouri Historical Review*, 1941-2, 36:210-214.

² In Austria Cooper inspired Adalbert Stifter; Lenau wrote poems about the Indians; and Caroline Pichler in *Zeitbilder* attests that the persecution of the Indians was a favorite topic in the salons of Vienna. They received sympathy from the Austrians who visualized the Indians driven westward, carrying with them the bones of their forefathers. Out of harmony with this mode of thought

The Negroes were entitled to consideration on the title of savagery, but European literature rarely featured them either as inhabitants of Africa or as residents of North America, and missionary groups also passed over them in silence. Nevertheless, they constituted a sizeable group because they increased rapidly since they, unlike the Indians, were not exposed to great privations and tribal warfare. One of the reasons why the Negroes played so small a role in Austrian thought is to be found in the fact that Austria had no colonies and hence Austrians knew little of the black race. Moreover, Negroes lacked all the *éclat* which the rouged and feathered Indians enjoyed. Pseudo-scientists who had postulated a non-human origin of the Negroes made them appear insignificant, even though not long after the propagation of that doctrine the slave trade was outlawed in Europe, owing partly to humanitarianism and partly to the religious revival of the nineteenth century. Then, too, the Negroes in the United States were not free for conversion; they had not the liberty to use their time for going to church, they had nothing to contribute to the upkeep of the church, and Protestant masters would hardly support a Catholic priest and provide a church for their slaves. Besides, some Christians were of the opinion that baptism automatically freed slaves, and consequently they wished them to remain heathens. Moreover, in order to keep slaves in subjection, almost all education was denied them, and if they could not read the abolition literature, they also could not read the catechism. Despite these drawbacks, several points were in favor of the Negroes. They spoke English, hence a polylingual

was Franz Grillparzer who in *Satiren* (1820) ridiculed the sentimental presentation of the Indians.

Salzbacher, *op. cit.*, 263, seems sentimental about the Indians. Upon visiting the Seneca village near Buffalo he was impressed with their skill and he wrote that they resembled "the Jews in the Babylonian captivity who sat along the rivers of Babylon and bewailed the fall of Jerusalem. The Indians, the original and native owners of the land, have now likewise become strangers in their fatherland and mourn their loss." *Ibid.*, 380-387, discusses the problem: Are the Indians the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel? This question had been answered recently in the affirmative by Captain Marryat. See Weber, *op. cit.*, 162-176; Preston Barba, "Cooper in Germany," *Indiana University Studies*, May 15, 1914, 21:49-104. For general data, Hoxie Fairchild, *The Noble Savage A Study in Romantic Naturalism*; N. H. Clement, *Romanticism in France*.

clergy was not necessary, and, secondly, most Negroes have a natural liking for religion. Efforts were made in the vicinity of Baltimore and Philadelphia to convert and educate the Negroes but they were not significant nor did they receive much support from the Leopoldine Society. The Austro-American Father Weninger in 1852 preached a mission to a congregation of slaves in the city of New Orleans, but that was something extraordinary.³ The Negroes' lot, however, occasionally was mentioned in the *Berichte*, and thereby the Austrians learned a little about slavery, a problem which disturbed American peace prior to the Civil War.⁴

Though the Leopoldine Society did not accomplish spectacular things among the Indians and though it overlooked the Negroes, it did espouse the cause of the German immigrants. It strengthened their faith by sending priests and it encouraged them in realizing their ideals by sending them financial aid. The humble immigrants, who might have been ignored, as a matter of fact laid the foundation of the Church in America,

³ Gilbert Garraghan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, 2:55.

⁴ *Berichte*, 4:24, Archbishop Whitfield in 1832 said Negroes are easier to convert than Indians and the results are better. *Ibid.*, 12:68, Bishop England says Negroes prefer to become Methodists. *Ibid.*, 24:58, Redemptorists care for Negroes in Baltimore. See the report of Dubuisson, 11:8-9, also 16:23, 26; 22:55; 23:49.

Huelsemann, the Austrian representative, was disgusted with the American free Negroes. He wrote: "It is proved by experience that among ten colored families, scarcely one consists of orderly and industrious people, but that the great mass is good for nothing except to form the worst scum of the most execrable rabble, such as is not even found in any European harbor." See Clarence Efrogmson, "An Austrian Diplomat in America, 1840," *American Historical Review*, 1936, 41:513. In his *Geschichte der Demokratie*, 384, Huelsemann quoted Jefferson on the non-human origin of the Negroes.

Salzbacher, *op. cit.*, 130, reported that the Redemptorists at Baltimore were planning to work among the Negroes and eventually to provide special services for them. *Ibid.*, 373, speaks highly about the colored Catholics. Salzbacher said that they were devout, generous, and regular in their attendance at church even in bad weather and when the church is far away. They are interested in Christian Doctrine and it is not unusual to find children who know the entire small catechism by heart. Negresses show a special predilection for instructing and educating the young. He also mentioned the community of colored nuns known as the Sisters of Providence. More than that, Salzbacher said that many Protestants prefer Catholic Negroes and recommend that slaves be directed to the Catholic priests because they teach them to be faithful to God and their masters.

both in the populous cities of the Atlantic seaboard and on the lush plains of the Middle West.

To care for the immigrants was a tremendous task. While the total number of immigrants in 1824 was only 7,912, in 1828 it was 27,382, in 1840 it was 84,066 and in 1850 fully 310,000 reached the United States. While the figures themselves are impressive, they tell only a fraction of the story because the immigrants who arrived in 1830 Americanized so slowly that they strongly resembled recent immigrants as late as 1860, and their children, though born in America, were more attached to the language and customs of their parents than to the language and customs of America. Naturally the arrival of so many Europeans in the United States helped to make that country a great power while simultaneously European states like Ireland were being depopulated.

The loss of population was somewhat obscured in Europe by the rise of the large cities. While thousands were embarking for America, the cities of Europe were growing in population and in splendor. This exodus of citizens would have caused considerable distress had not the use of machinery dispensed with many laborers and improved methods of farming kept the food supply normal. Medical science also came to the rescue for by effectively combating plagues, infant mortality and other ailments, all nations were enabled to recoup some of their losses. Statistics were rare, and consequently few scholars and statesmen graphically realized the seriousness of the emigration question.

At first the emigres left "unwept, unhonored and unsung," but with the lapse of years many families in Europe had a Hans or a Pat, a Gretchen or a Mary in America whom they could not callously forget.⁵ Neighbors and friends discussed the advisability of getting a new start in life, and Europe, thanks to land speculators, ship agents, railroad agents and business men, was

⁵ The literature on the immigrant is extensive. Representative studies are: Albert Faust, *The German Element in the United States*; Oscar Handlin, *Boston's Immigrants 1790-1865*; Mary Kelly, *Catholic Immigration Colonization Projects in the United States 1815-1860*; Gerald Shaughnessy, *Has the Immigrant Kept the Faith?*; Marcus Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration 1608-1860*; John Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America*.

deluged with pamphlets luring both adventurous and unsuspecting people to America. Though many glamorous tales of success were told in Europe, there were not absent pathetic tales of hardship and sorrow. The immigrants were poor in goods and money; they had to buy much to satisfy their most fundamental needs because they could bring only a few commodities with them. What remained for the higher things of life? Music, art, and higher education could be dispensed with, but what about the church, the one place in which the immigrant felt anchored, the place which called to memory life's most sacred moments experienced in the fatherland in the loving company of parents, brothers, and sisters. On the frontier almost nothing could be skimmed to give toward building a church in the new world. The very idea of great sacrifices for the church was foreign to some people who came from countries in which the churches had been built centuries ago and were often still financed by the state. When a humble church did raise its spindling belfry heavenward in the primeval forest, where would a priest be found? Whence would come his support? Then, too, Europeans heard that many children lost both parents, owing to the hardships of pioneering; that the children were in danger of losing the faith which had solaced their parents through life, the faith which in some instances had inspired them to leave home in order to preserve it. This was the picture that, like a mosaic, was slowly pieced together in Europe, and those of the faith could no longer shrug their shoulders and remain indifferent to the problems of their co-religionists. Herder and other Romanticists at the dawn of the nineteenth century, when bleak internationalism was losing its appeal, turned the German mind away from static and frigid cosmopolitanism and focused it upon the unity which exists in a state which has been begotten by one soil and climate and has been welded together with one language. Faith and nationalism combined to ameliorate the lot of the immigrant in America.

To appreciate the work of the Leopoldine Society it is well to look at the status of the Church at the time when the society began to function in 1829. After the revolution Catholics in

America constituted about one per cent of the American population; 30,000 out of about 3,500,000. Though few in number, they were excessively feared and extravagantly hated.⁶ In 1789 they received their first bishop, and soon afterward a seminary was opened in the One Mile Tavern, near Baltimore, and the American clergy received a goodly addition from France whose revolution sent many priests into exile. Europe's loss was our happy gain.⁷

In the very early development of the Church in America Germans had taken some part. They were most numerous in southeastern Pennsylvania and Maryland. Father Harding's census of 1757 placed the number of Catholics in Pennsylvania at 1,365, and of these 949 were Germans.⁸ Father Pellentz (1727-1800) had come to Maryland from the diocese of Trier in 1758 and worked for several decades at Conewago where the first church in North America was dedicated to the Sacred Heart in 1787. When Father Farmer, who had taken care of the Germans in Philadelphia, died, he left a vacancy that was hard to fill. Father Graessl, a Bavarian and a schoolmate of Bishop Sailer at Ingolstadt, had come to Philadelphia in October, 1787, and he had succeeded Farmer. In 1793 he was elected coadjutor to Carroll but he died before consecration. In 1817 Father Ludwig De Barth declined to become bishop of Philadelphia, so since the death of Graessl, in all, almost forty years elapsed before another German, Friedrich Résé, became bishop. Discontent began to spread among the Catholic Germans after Father Farmer's death, and it came to a climax in July, 1796, when an Austrian priest, Joseph Goetz, a former professor at the academy of Wiener-Neustadt, arrived in Philadelphia. He and the pastor, Peter Helbron, who had recently succeeded his brother, were each lionized by a faction of the parish, and soon Goetz was in open schism. Though the latter disappeared from the scene, Father Reuter, who founded St. John's German church in Baltimore in 1799, went to Rome and

⁶ See Sr. Mary Augustina, *American Opinion of Roman Catholicism in the Eighteenth Century*; also Joseph Thorning, *Religious Liberty in Transition*.

⁷ See Leo Ruskowski, *French Emigré Priests in the United States (1791-1815)*.

⁸ Guilday, *op. cit.*, 646.

in 1797 or 1798 denounced Carroll, demanding at the same time that the Germans in America be given their own bishop.^{8a} The essence of the charges against Carroll was that he opposed the German language. Reuter was relieved of Carroll's censure by the Holy See on condition that he would not return to America. Nevertheless he returned, and he again wrote to Rome complaining about Carroll's attempts to Americanize the Germans, but the Propaganda gave him no hearing. These men, indeed, are no credit to the early German Catholics in America, but since the Germans lacked priests, doubtful characters were occasionally given a chance to function in the ministry, and the outcome was not always edifying. In 1806, when the Jesuits were partly reorganized, three German speaking members of the order came to America: Adam Britt went to Philadelphia, Anthony Kohlman to New York City, and John Henry to Baltimore. In this period of 1800 to 1830 great characters like Father Merz began their careers which were of utmost value to the German American Catholics. He, for example, came to America in 1803, worked in Pennsylvania, later spent fourteen years at St. John's Church, Baltimore, and from 1829 to 1844 was active in Buffalo and its environs.⁹

^{8a} It is interesting to note that Propaganda writing to Reuter in 1799 said about national bishops: *Illud vero absonum prorsus, atque omnino iniquum est, quod a te petitur . . . Cui unquam hoc in mentem venire potuit? . . . Ergone in omni diocesi quot nationes sunt, tot episcopi erunt?* Guilday, *op. cit.*, 725.

⁹ Data on the Germans taken from Guilday, *op. cit.*, 723-728, 292, 628, 649-654. For data on Kohlman see Leo Ryan, *Old St. Peter's The Mother Church of Catholic New York 1785-1935*, New York, United States Catholic Historical Society, 1935. From 1796-98 Goetz published several German pamphlets. Reuter in 1797 published a German catechism, and in 1810 Britt edited a German version of Canisius' catechism. See Wilfrid Parsons, *Early Catholic Americana*, New York, Macmillan, 1939, Nos. 156, 176, 184, 192, 351.

Father Brosius should also be mentioned here. As early as 1790 he had sought admission to the diocese of Baltimore, but he came later in the company of Gallitzin. He was active in several places and also published some controversial literature. In 1807 he opened a school near Philadelphia, and in 1813 he went to Boston where he opened a school near Harvard. While there Ticknor sought him as a tutor in German but the priest claimed that his pronunciation was defective. Around 1816 Brosius went back to Europe. He is said to have been the first teacher to use a blackboard in America. See Guilday, *op. cit.*, 377, 624; also Martin Griffin, "Father Brosius' Seminary," *American Catholic Historical Researches*, 1888, 5:155-59.

At the time the Leopoldine Society was organized the majority of the Catholic population consisted of German and Irish immigrants. The latter had come to America earlier than the Germans and had found work on the canals and later on the railroads. They took these jobs because they were destitute and needed a regular income to avoid starvation. Because they took jobs of this nature they were more likely to settle in the cities, and in some regions the cities became dominantly Irish. The Germans, on the other hand, were not so destitute as the Irish and they penetrated inland in search of farm land.¹⁰ Because the Irish settled in cities it was easier to take care of their religious needs and the Irish parishes readily acquired prestige. Though prominent prelates such as Archbishop Hughes discouraged the Irish from going inland, later on men like Archbishop Ireland reversed that policy.

When the Germans came to America, even though they took up farming, they found it more convenient to remain together with those who spoke their language and shared their customs. Clannishness at first made life more pleasant, but later it gave rise to nationalistic pride. The very earliest Germans who came to the United States were eager to learn English and to adopt American customs; it was only when large German colonies had formed that Germans began to neglect studying English and to vaunt their ancestry and to extol their cultural heritage.¹¹

¹⁰ Salzbacher, *op. cit.*, 369-70, mentions this tendency of the Germans to settle in the forests.

¹¹ Franz Lieber, *The Stranger in America or Letters to a Gentleman in Germany Comprising Sketches of the Manners, Society, and National Peculiarities of the United States*, Philadelphia, 1835, 57-58, pointed out that the aim of the Germans is to secure a farm. He believed that Germans were easily assimilated because they learn languages easily. He explained the clannishness of the Irish as rooted in their concentration in cities, in the memory of a common wrong, and in the intrigues of party men who play on Irish feelings. He believed that the Germans suffered by not having a strong nation to support them, 202-3.

Gallitzin was of the opinion that the German language could not survive among Catholics in America. He said the Germans were despised; in fact, they were the helots of the Americans, so when a German succeeded in life he was sure to slough off all traces of being German. Some of this hatred was related to the Hessian tradition in America. Many of the immigrants were indentured and were the equivalent of Negro slaves. Speaking of literature he said that poor

American society as well as the Catholic Church was influenced by the national customs and ideals of the immigrants. The abundant use of beer by Germans and the generous use of whiskey by Irish were not the only customs which the foreigners introduced. They were also responsible for other changes. Albert B. Faust says of the Germans:

"The social influence of the German element in the United States consists in the emphasis laid upon the cultivation of those arts and habits which divert from the narrow path of selfish interest or material gain, and which elevate, ennoble, and increase the joy of living. During the eighteenth and a large part of the nineteenth century European travellers were appalled by the gravity, melancholy, and monotony of American social life. Whether possessed by the ambition for material advancement or inflamed with the zeal of laying up stores for

German dramas and novels were sold to gullible Americans, just like some priests who had campaigned against celibacy abroad sought audiences in America. Gallitzin was equally critical of Catholic literature which came to America from Germany, and he expressed this view in connection with the Life of Anna Katharina Emmerich who was well known to Gallitzin's friends. "These latter people are bringing all sorts of peculiar ideas into the country, and one does not know any more what to make of their Catholicism. It is no wonder either, when books of this kind, lacking—as is the case here—the Church's approbation, circulate among them." See Peter Henry Lemcke, *Life and Work of Prince Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin*, tr. by Rev. Joseph C. Plumpe, 81, 225-233.

Sealsfield in *Americans as They Are*, 1828, 175, gives a picture of the Germans which harmonizes with Lemcke's. "There are a great number of Germans in New Orleans. These people, without being possessed of the smallest resources, embarked eight or ten years ago, and after having lost one-half or one-third parts of their comrades during the passage, they were sold as white slaves, or as they are called, redemptioners, the moment of their arrival. Thus mixed with the Negroes in the same kind of labor, they experience no more consideration than the latter; and their conduct certainly deserves no better treatment. Those who did not escape were driven away by their masters for their immoderate drinking; and all, with few exceptions, were glad to get rid of such dregs."

Prince Carl zu Solms-Braunfels, who came to Texas in 1844, reported that the Germans did their utmost to conceal their nationality. They pretended not to know German and so Schmidt became Smith, Fischer spelled his name Fisher, and Mueller was happy to become Miller.

The *North American Review*, July, 1820, 1-19, reviewed M. Fuerstenwaerter, *Der Deutsche in Nord Amerika*, and observed that the children of Germans in America were ashamed of their parents' tongue and country. The reviewer tried to explain why the Americans despised the Germans (sometimes more than the Negroes) by alluding to the few contacts between the countries and also by pointing out that Germany was politically insignificant.

the life hereafter, the old type of American was equally serious, rigid, and narrow. As late as 1831, when Mrs. Trollope wrote down her experiences in the United States, she felt herself justified in saying: 'I never saw a population so totally divested of gayety; there is no trace of this feeling from one end of the Union to the other. They have no fetes, no fairs, no merry-makings, no music in the streets, no Punch, no puppet shows. If they see a comedy or a farce, they may laugh at it; but they can do very well without it. A distinguished publisher of Philadelphia told me that no comic publication had ever yet been found to answer in America.' ¹²

While the Germans were acquiring importance in America, Germany herself was acquiring prestige in the family of nations. The *Zollverein* laid the foundation for national unity, industry began to develop, French was no longer idolized by the Germans, and German literature, which had produced its greatest genius in Goethe (d. 1832), attracted increased attention. At the beginning of the second quarter of the nineteenth century German was taught at Harvard University for the first time. Although German had been taught at the University of Pennsylvania in 1754, and as early as 1702 in a school at Germantown, this fact was related to the nationality of the Pennsylvanians, while its introduction to Harvard was directed by cultural considerations. Simultaneously American scholars started to go to Germany to perfect their knowledge not only of German but of the sciences as well. Paradoxical though it may seem, German culture in America and in Europe rose simultaneously, and only long after 1860 did German culture in America give evidence of the shallowness of its roots. While Germany continued to become more powerful, the Germans in America began to forget even the rudiments of German grammar. ¹³

If the Austrians took an interest in the affairs of the Germans in America it was not due to the presence of Austrians

¹² Faust, *op. cit.*, 2:251. For the beer question among the Germans see Hawgood, *op. cit.*, 34-35. For the Irish and liquor see Handlin, *op. cit.*, 124, 138.

¹³ Faust, *op. cit.*, 200-250; Samuel Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard 1636-1936*, 225-228, 265-66; Michael Kraus, *A History of American History*, 216-217; Charles Handschin, *The Teaching of Modern Languages in the United States*, U. S. Bulletin of Education, No. 510, 31-39.

in German-American circles. According to the official census of 1850 there were only 946 Austrians in the United States, and while that figure may be inaccurate it does give a general picture of the situation.

The reason for possible inaccuracy lies in the fact that some Austrians specified that they were Poles, Russians, Germans, or some other nationality. Although many Austrian priests went to Wisconsin around the middle of the century, that state according to the census of 1850 had only 61 Austrians. Ten years later, the United States included 25,061 Austrians with 7,081 in Wisconsin. The total number of immigrants from German states in 1860, however, was 1,301,136. The larger German states, for example, had contributed the following: Bavaria 150,165; Baden 112,834; Prussia 227,661.¹⁴

As for concentration in the cities, the census offers this view of the United States for the year 1860.

Baltimore	32,608	Germans	112	Austrians
Boston	3,202	Germans	43	Austrians
Chicago	22,227	Germans	927	Austrians
Cincinnati	43,931	Germans	342	Austrians
New Orleans	19,729	Germans	199	Austrians
New York City.....	119,977	Germans	1,691	Austrians
Philadelphia	43,634	Germans	331	Austrians
St. Louis	50,510	Germans	2,540	Austrians

There are several reasons why few citizens of the Austrian Empire came to the United States. In the first place, economic conditions were bearable and Austrian subjects were not so land hungry as other people because land was still available in Hungary, in the mountains of Transylvania, and in the Galician territory beyond the Carpathians.¹⁵ In fact, Austria had often tried to induce Europeans to settle within her boundaries even though she frequently used expatriation as a punishment for heresy. In 1763 Maria Theresa sent agents to German cities to attract immigrants with promises of free transportation, advancement of money, wood rights, and reduced taxes. In 1782

¹⁴ *United States Census*, 1850, 1860.

¹⁵ Alfred Legoyt, *L'Emigration Europeenne Son Importance, Ses Causes, Ses Effets*, 9-12; Albert Faust, *Guide to the Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives*, introduction.

Joseph II sought colonists for the lower Danube using as bait his recent decree of religious toleration, exemption from military service, and reduced taxation with the result that 25,000 people came to settle within his empire. As late as 1858 favors were granted to colonists settling in Hungary and Transylvania.¹⁶ Besides this, little data on foreign countries was circulated, and even that which was available had little effect because Austrians have a great deal of affection for their native land. Then, too, Francis I was opposed to building railroads for fear that revolution would thus find its way into Austria. The result was that travel within Austria remained slow and uncomfortable, and, as for seaports, the only one of importance was Trieste on the Adriatic. In 1818 an American inaugurated steamer service between Venice and Trieste, and in 1837 the Austrian Lloyd began its sailings out of Trieste with Metternich's approval, but only with seven ships.¹⁷

Again, it must be remembered that remnants of serfdom lasted to the middle of the nineteenth century. While Joseph II had emancipated the serfs partly in 1781, only on September 7, 1848, were the last vestiges of the system abolished. Lastly, prior to 1867 a passport had to be purchased before emigrating because Austria did not recognize the right of emigrating as early as her neighbors.¹⁸

In Bohemia the same factors deterred the inhabitants from going to America. Though economic conditions were good after the Napoleonic wars, a change became noticeable after 1840 and, accordingly, the more adventurous Bohemians interested themselves in the United States. In 1844 Bohemians

¹⁶ Legoyt, *op. cit.*, 12-15.

¹⁷ Jerome Blum, "Transportation and Industry in Austria 1815-1848," *The Journal of Modern History*, 1943, 15:24-38. For Austrian travelers of this time see Joseph Nadler, *Literaturgeschichte des Deutschen Volkes Dichtung und Schriftum der Deutschen Stämme und Landschaften*, 3:393-397.

¹⁸ Joseph Buzek, "Das Auswanderungsproblem und die Regelung des Auswanderungswesens in Oesterreich," *Zeitschrift für Volkswirtschaft Socialpolitik und Verwaltung*, 10:440 sq. The residents of Tirol, living near the border, were long accustomed to migrate. Those near Lombardy went southward, while those near Bavaria went thither. After 1860 South Tirolers showed a preference for Brazil and Argentine.

settled in Caledonia, Wisconsin, where at an early date a Bohemian paper, *Slavie*, was published. A little later other settlements were founded in Wisconsin, Ohio, Illinois, Texas, and Missouri. Wisconsin did not prove satisfactory to all, so a number departed for Iowa.¹⁹ Political disturbances which preceded and followed the revolution of 1848 induced some Bohemians to leave home, but a more important cause of emigration was the news of the California gold rush. Of this Thomas Capek writes:

"Newspapers published highly colored articles about the rich California gold fields, while emigration agents, plying their trade surreptitiously, magnified what was already exaggerated by the press. Warning by the authorities against emigration had little or no effect; in a like manner admonitions by the Church proved futile. It is probably true that the gold craze affected Bohemia more generally than it agitated other Austrian states . . . The number of emigrants from the empire to the United States during the California gold fever excitement amounted to about 25,000."²⁰

While many Bohemians were Catholic both in Europe and in America, some used the liberty of the new world to desert and to vilify the Church to which they had belonged in the old world. This had a direct bearing on the German element because the Bohemians, who had German as a second mother tongue, associated with Germans in America even though in Europe they despised German pre-eminence in the Austrian government. The career of Vojta Naprstek illustrates this. Born in Prague, he came to New York in 1849 as a political refugee. Later he went to Milwaukee where in 1852 he began publishing *Flugblätter*, a German paper which was bitterly anti-Catholic and anti-Austrian. In 1857 the editor went back to Prague where he promoted enthusiasm for American institutions, crusaded for woman suffrage, and founded a museum.²¹

¹⁹ Emily G. Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*, 210-27.

²⁰ Thomas Capek, *The Cechs (Bohemians) in America*, 28. As early as 1849 Abraham Krakenfuss published a satire on the gold rush entitled *Muenchhausen in Californien*.

²¹ Capek, *op. cit.*, 125-27. This book shows how many Bohemians left the Church in America. For opposition to the *Flugblätter*, see *infra* in the life of Dr. Salzmann, an Austrian priest in Milwaukee. See also Ernest Zizka, *Czech Cultural Contributions*.

Obviously the Bohemians were not the only social group within Austria to send anti-Catholic agitators to America. One of the most influential, Gottlieb Ludvigh, came from Styria, a part of Austria around Gratz. Born in 1801 he found his homeland unfriendly to him and in 1837 came to New York. Although he published a number of anti-clerical periodicals such as the *Wahrheitssucher* and the *Wahrheitsverbreiter*, his most important journalistic endeavor was *Die Fackel*, a weekly, which made its debut in 1843, and while it did not always appear regularly, it continued to exist till Ludvigh's death in 1869. He also wrote several books and travelled throughout the populated parts of the United States, from Boston to Richmond, from New Orleans to Chicago and St. Paul, preaching free-thought and a species of socialism derived from Louis Blanc.²²

Americans of the 1830-1860 era realized how great the growth of foreign groups had been and this realization generated nativism, which consisted of an undifferentiated hatred of foreigners and Catholics. This same spirit was later embodied in the Knownothing Party which died at the outbreak of the Civil War. Naturally these movements were strongest in the North because few immigrants went South where neither jobs nor land was available.

Though the Catholic Church was denounced by many Americans for threatening the homogeneity of the United States, she herself was so far from being homogeneous that she suffered from serious national difficulties. In ecclesiastical matters the Irish enjoyed a distinct advantage in being able to speak the language of the land, while few Germans ever mastered it. As a consequence many Irish priests became bishops. The authorities in Rome may have favored them because abroad it may have been more apparent that English would always be the language of the United States, and the authorities may have also counted on the fact that the Irish had no fatherland that might bring political pressure on the Vatican for divers purposes. As the Irish once were irked by French bishops, so the

²² Albert Post, *Popular Freethought in America 1825-1850*, 73-74, 119-21, 154.

Germans began to chafe under Irish rule, and the demand for representation in the hierarchy grew stronger.^{22a}

The storm centered around the bishops who ordinarily received lump sums from Europe which they parcelled out at will. Since the bishops were French or Irish they were accused of favoring their own national groups; at least, struggling missionaries were not afraid to criticize the episcopal allotments, and the criticism became violent when the harassed missionaries reflected that the Germans at home were prompted to contribute generously to the missions because they thought they were thereby helping their fellow Germans.

Rumblings of this dissatisfaction are faintly discernible in the *Berichte* despite the editing of men like Pletz and Salzbacher. It was to investigate charges and counter-charges that the latter came to America in 1842 and visited most of the German localities.

The complaints against the administration of the funds were distilled into a brochure published in Philadelphia in 1840. It bore the title *Die Katholisch-irische-bischöfliche Administration in Nordamerika, Eine Stimme der Deutschen und Franzosen daselbst*. The author used the pen name Severus Brandanus. Father Roemer summarizes the contents as follows:

"The author draws a pitiable picture of the trials of German Americans in the United States in the practice of their Catholic faith and mentions as reasons for these conditions: the unchecked nationalism of the Irish bishops and priests, who were in the majority of the clergy, and a reckless use of the mission alms from Europe. It was an exaggerated description, but it caused much resentment against the American clergy when it was brought to Germany, because some of the accusations were substantiated by letters from America."²³

^{22a} On July 3, 1847, the Propaganda instructed the American bishops: "Among the qualifications of a bishop, is certainly to be reckoned a knowledge of the language in use among those over whom he presides. Wherefore, as large numbers of Germans annually emigrate to the United States where they permanently settle, you will carefully provide that bishops, to be appointed for these dioceses whose population is German, be well acquainted with their language. Those dioceses should also be provided with priests who speak the German language." See Peter Guilday, *A History of the Councils of Baltimore (1791-1884)*, 151.

²³ Roemer, *The Ludwig-Missionsverein*, 17-18.

Although the booklet of Brandanus is a bitter diatribe, the vicar general of the diocese of Regensburg wrote:

"There can be no valid objections to the demand of the German donors and of their directors, the bishops, that their donations be used principally for the benefit of the members of their own race. That this is not done sufficiently has come to our knowledge from reliable sources and it is patent from the prevailing conditions in the United States. The distribution of the donations is left to the judgment of the American bishops. In the majority of cases they are either Irish or French, and the great majority of the lower clergy also belongs to these nationalities, principally Irish. Without in the least reflecting on the conscientiousness of the bishops, it can be considered but natural that, being importuned by the needs and the pleas, the desires and petitions of the missionaries and settlers of their own nationality, they direct their first attention to them. That this is really the case is attested by a number of trustworthy witnesses . . .

"The poor German Catholic immigrants, who cross the ocean every year by the thousands, are left in a very sorry religious state . . . The mission alms from Catholic Germany should remedy the situation, whenever possible, and procure the assistance of German priests."²⁴

Speaking of finances, it is of interest to note that the Germans had a fatherland from which help could be expected. With the Irish the situation was different. No help could be expected from the Emerald Isle; the Irish in America, on the other hand, often took up collections to relieve distress in Ireland.

When the hostility between the Irish, French, and Germans²⁵ kept steadily increasing and finally led to the secession of Bavaria from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, on July 9, 1844, by order of King Louis, the secretary of the

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 18-19.

²⁵ It is well to remember that in 1840 Germany and France were on the verge of war, owing to the treaty of London which was signed in 1840 and which France interpreted as a revival of the coalition of 1813. Five months later the remains of Napoleon were returned to a jubilant Parisian populace. While many Frenchmen clamored for war, the Prussian king refused to buy paintings by French masters, Heine avowed that Thiers had "waked Germany from her lethargic slumbers," and Max Schneckenburger wrote *Die Wacht am Rhein* which was soon sung on the streets of Austria and later became world famous. See J. Lucas-Dubreton, *The Restoration and the July Monarchy*, tr. by E. F. Buckley, New York, 1929, 264-270; *Treitschke's History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century*, tr. by Eden and Cedar Paul, New York, 1919, 6:396-400.

former did not forget to take a "holier than thou" attitude when he wrote on November 24, 1845:

"In separating from our general Society for the Propagation of the Faith your council has adopted principles entirely opposed to ours. Our fundamental principle is this: *The alms of the Society are given solely to the bishops and the superiors of missions.* We act like the first Christians; we place our alms at the feet of the successors of the Apostles, allowing them to judge of the method of distributing the alms in the interest of the missions committed to their care. They render no account to us and we demand none, for the bishops are appointed to govern their churches, *posuit episcopus regere ecclesiam Dei.* Less, perhaps, than anywhere else is it right to depart from the wisdom of this principle in mission countries such as those of America and of the states in the north of Germany, where the spirit of independence has found its way even into the ranks of the clergy. Now this is precisely what the Bavarian Association has done by giving help to simple missionaries, who are at the same time placed under the jurisdiction of a bishop. And, furthermore, these alms of the Bavarian Association are given for designated purposes in such a manner that the missionaries in question, upon arriving in a diocese without having had their money or the expenses of their journey pass through the hands of the bishop, find themselves absolutely independent of him in temporal matters and can act in complete liberty and independence with regard to all matters that do not pertain to the spiritual order, can even, as has happened several times, become proprietors of churches or other establishments, which they built with the aid of alms sent to to them personally . . .

"The Society for the Propagation of the Faith was instituted to aid the bishops, not to hinder them. It is Catholic and not presbyterian."²⁶

²⁶ Roemer, *The Ludwig-Missionsverein*, 24-25.

Bishop Henni in 1845 wrote to Munich that he knew of no missionary who had opposed his bishop because he had received support from Europe. See *Salesianum*, 1942, 37:139, for original document.

The following extract from a letter, dated July 6, 1844, to Bishop Henni from the Court Chaplain of Louis I of Bavaria may have carried a measure of criticism of the use of funds by the American hierarchy.

"Here in Germany our people are astonished that American bishops and missionaries travel so much, indeed our people resent it. Vienna sent word to us that they do not wish to see another American bishop, and we in Munich must conform ourselves to Vienna for the sake of the good cause. People wonder how the shepherds can leave their flocks, spend large sums of money, and then still complain of having no money and a lack of priests . . . Our affairs are well regulated and a letter directed to us will achieve more than an unpleasant visit." See M. M. Hoffmann, *The Church Founders of the Northwest*, 378.

As a matter of fact both the Leopoldine and the Ludwig Society dealt primarily with the bishops and the heads of religious communities. The foregoing letter exposed passion rather than facts. Father Roemer reflects that some good resulted from sending funds directly to the priests.

"Experience had shown that many Germans were losing their faith because some bishops withheld mission alms from them, under the impression that they would then be compelled to join English-speaking parishes and the amalgamation of all Catholics would be hastened. This idea overlooked the spirit inherent in the various races, which could not be changed by compulsion."²⁷

With the attitudes of Brandanus in mind it is interesting to examine the published letters of Father Inama, an Austrian Premonstratensian, who in the forties worked in New York state and in Wisconsin. Writing from Utica on December 22, 1843, he reported the Irish-German situation as follows:

Except in the extreme West, the first Catholic settlers are mostly Irish. Later Germans come in gradually, and of necessity join them. Finally their number becomes considerable and the need urgent for a priest and services of their own. Then the Irish priest is about to lose a part of his parishioners and likewise a good part of his income. You can imagine that this would bring about some unpleasant results. The Irish-American bishops desire a homogeneous flock, consequently would prefer that the German immigrants should become anglicized and thereby German priests be dispensable. Only the missionaries can stop or prevent this; but, as you can easily imagine, not without unpleasant results for themselves. The expected missionaries, however, will find these difficulties overcome to a large extent. All my efforts are directed thereto. Otherwise I were a traitor to the Catholic religion and to my German compatriots.²⁸

On April 5, 1844, Inama practically repeated the same story.

I pointed out in my earlier letters that the chief difficulty of the German missionaries here arose from their relation to the Irish bishops. These naturally desire to anglicize the German settlers, so as to be able to do without German missionaries. However, it is not difficult to make them understand that this cannot be accomplished easily and speedily, and can be forced only with terrible disadvantage to the spiritual welfare of the Germans. Besides, it is impossible to fuse the two nationalities into one. I live on the most confidential and friendly

²⁷ Roemer, *The Ludwig-Missionsverein*, 25.

²⁸ *Letters of the Reverend Adelbert Inama, O.Praem.*, 39-40.

terms with the Irish priests of the region. They suffer considerable pecuniary loss from the separation of the Germans; indeed, the Irish Catholics in Salina will probably no longer be able to support a priest of their own and will be obliged to unite with those of Syracuse. However, they are now so fully convinced of the necessity of special care for the German Catholics that they accept the bitter necessity willingly.²⁹

On February 28, 1845, he, as it were, attacked Bishop Quarter of Chicago, even though he had known him for some time and also his family which had lived in Utica.

Though His Lordship had come to Chicago only four months prior to my arrival, I had read in the newspapers that he had built a college and seminary for theologians, and would soon build a Sisters' convent for the education of young girls. I considered this Celtic magnification. And this I found true. But now I read what is more astounding, that the state government granted a charter to the college, establishing it as a university—a Protestant government to a Catholic institution. An American college is, as a rule, an institution for higher studies, and some of them include medical and juridical studies. Now how does the Irish University of Chicago meet these requirements? The old board chapel is divided by partitions into small rooms: there you have a description of the university halls. Two priests, recently ordained, who probably have never instructed a single soul and who also have charge of the parish, alternate weekly in giving instructions in all courses and many languages. They bear the pretentious titles of president and vice-president of the university. At my second visit toward the end of October eleven students were enrolled, one of whom, a theologian, was without a professor. The university funds register zero.³⁰

Another source of variance in the American mission field between 1830 and 1860 was the attitude toward schools on the part of the Irish and Germans. The former came from a land inured to religious persecution. Catholic schools could not flourish and they had come to be looked upon as luxuries. The Germans, on the other hand, had some good schools and they knew from recent experience how damaging "enlightened schools" could be. In the last century the University of Munich was an inspiration to all German Catholics and men like Overberg in Germany and Galura in Austria had shown unusual

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 46-47.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 75-76.

interest in pedagogy. Consequently it is easy to understand why the Germans in America regarded the Catholic school as next in importance to the church, and usually equipped the basement of the church as a school until increased prosperity permitted a separate structure. Naturally schools cost money and where the Germans and Irish disagreed on their value, it became difficult to govern a mixed parish. Besides, when both groups were in one parish, it was hard to engage a teacher and arrange a curriculum that would satisfy both factions.

From the foregoing some idea may be formed of why Austrians worried about the spiritual condition of the German speaking immigrants and how they felt toward converting the Indians and the Negroes. As for the large Protestant population in the United States there was little enthusiasm for their conversion to Catholicism.

The hardships of life in the new world, however, where religious tolerance was growing, had a broadening influence on the pioneers. Protestants and Catholics not only heard about each other, they saw each other face to face and conversed with each other, they bartered with each other and borrowed from each other, and thereby they came to doubt or disbelieve some of the evil things they had heard about each other. Friendliness, however, did not beget indifferentism, so numerous small scale attempts at conversion were made on both sides. The spoken word was the usual means of gaining converts because radio was as yet unborn, mailed advertising negligible, and the newspapers had a limited circulation.

Father Baraga, who was always alert to see an opportunity for doing good, preached in a Protestant church in Dayton, Ohio, on May 1, 1831. He wrote to Europe that he felt strange before such an audience, and that such discourses are given without surplice and stole.³¹ The Jesuits often preached in Protestant churches. Father Dubuisson, for example, preached in the Pohick church that George Washington had attended, and Father John Smith, S.J., who lived at Alexandria, was successful with his sermons in the Protestant churches of Virginia.³² Bishop Purcell in 1838 wrote to the archbishop of

³¹ *Berichte*, 4:7-8.

³² *Berichte*, 12:20-1.

Vienna that he had suffered abuse from Protestants, and that he had complained about it in their own churches.³³

Protestants sometimes asked Catholics to preach in public places. Bishop England said that although the legislature of South Carolina numbered 170 members, with few Catholics, he was often invited to speak in its halls.³⁴ Father Henni, later archbishop of Milwaukee, wrote in 1834 that Protestants often asked missionaries to discuss Catholic principles for them in their churches, schools, courthouses, and city halls. In harmony with the Catholic outlook of that period Henni believed that these opportunities should gladly be used to increase the prestige of the priesthood and to remove prejudice.³⁵

Protestants also attended Catholic services. Bishop England wrote that at times one third of his cathedral was filled with Protestants.³⁶ Father Kundek, as also Dubuison, related that he had preached to many Protestants.³⁷ More than that, the neighborliness of the frontier had induced Protestants to contribute to Catholic churches. Bishop Rosati of St. Louis, in 1838, admitted that it was true in his diocese, and Bishop Loras reported that since the Protestants of Dubuque had only two dilapidated churches, they preferred to go to the Catholic Church to which they had contributed.³⁸ Naturally evidences of Catholics fraternizing with Protestants also exist. Bishop Fenwick of Boston wrote to Vienna in 1840 that his Germans were attracted by a German Lutheran preacher because they had no resident German priest. Curiously enough, the bishop gave the Germans the use of the cathedral so that they could use the organ and thus attract others, especially Lutherans. While that was happening in Boston, in so spiritually desolate

³³ *Berichte*, 12:63. Bishop Cheverus in 1817 or 1818 preached in an Episcopalian church in Bristol, R. I. See *American Catholic Historical Researches*, 8:187. Father Parisat in *Reminiscences of a Texas Missionary*, 20, records that he preached on the four marks of the Church in a Protestant church.

³⁴ *Berichte*, 6:36.

³⁵ *Berichte*, 9:24; also Henni, *Ein Blick ins Thal des Ohio*, 91.

³⁶ *Berichte*, 6:34.

³⁷ *Berichte*, 13:18.

³⁸ *Berichte*, 12:55, 13:24.

a place as Nashville the bishop was expecting a number of converts because Protestants often attended Catholic services. Dubuisson speculated that in the South the masters, if once converted, would bring many of their slaves along into the Catholic Church.³⁹ Dubuisson also admitted the great talents of Father Hughes and his influence over Protestants, but Hughes himself and his bishop, Kenrick, regretted that open debates had been begun because of the bitterness which they elicited.⁴⁰

From time to time statistics about converts were informally sent to Europe. In the first issue of the *Berichte* Father Résé reported that during his absence from Cincinnati 150 Protestants of the city had entered the Church, and hardly a day passed without someone applying for instructions.⁴¹ It hardly seems possible but it was claimed that in 1832 there were living in Fort Wayne over 100 converts, not counting Indians, out of a total Catholic population of 400.⁴² Bishop Fenwick of Boston in a letter dated April 6, 1831, said that the public lectures of his clergy had undermined Puritanism, and that some highly respected families had been converted.⁴³ Bishop Whitfield was impressed with the converts in Maryland and the District of Columbia. Bishop Rosati was pleased with the converts made in his diocese. In Detroit, Bishop Résé, writing in 1835, mentioned the conversion of two prominent Presbyterian ladies, and Father Viscoczky also had made several converts.⁴⁴ In 1836 Bishop Hughes of New York estimated the number of converts at from 300 to 400 annually, and he added that they proved

³⁹ *Berichte*, 11:10.

⁴⁰ *Berichte*, 12:2.

⁴¹ *Berichte*, 1:11; Peter Leo Johnson, *Stuffed Saddlebags The Life of Martin Kundig, Priest, 1805-1879*, 60. For converts at Monroe, Mich., a little later see John Byrne, *The Redemptorist Centenaries*, 201.

⁴² *Berichte*, 2:8.

⁴³ *Berichte*, 3:28. The *Katholische Kirchen-Zeitung*, Aschaffenburg, Dec. 1, 1831, relates that Beecher had violently attacked Catholics the preceding December and that Bishop Fenwick began a series of weekly lectures in his cathedral to refute the charges. Many Protestants attended and an increase of converts was expected. Billington, *op. cit.*, 82, note 95, remarks that Fenwick's sermons probably did more harm than good because they were violently criticized in the press.

⁴⁴ *Berichte*, 9:31, 61.

to be good Catholics.⁴⁵ While many rambling remarks are made about converts in the *Berichte*, it is not possible to form a complete picture of the situation. St. Louis offers a more extensive record of conversions than most dioceses. In 1837 there were more than 150 converts from Protestantism, and in another letter the same writer, namely, the bishop, estimated the annual number at 150. In 1839 their number was recorded as 160 for the year.⁴⁶

Some converts in America became priests. The first case is mentioned in the diocesan report from Cincinnati to the Leopoldine Society under date of February 11, 1831.⁴⁷ Résé found several priests in his diocese who had been Protestants. Father Smith at Monroe, near Detroit, was a convert from the Quakers.⁴⁸ Bishop England in his report of 1833 mentioned Father Cooper as a convert who was a benefactor of the Sisters of Charity at Emmitsburg. The same prelate also observed that Father Thayer, quondam Presbyterian preacher, who was ordained a Catholic priest in Paris in 1784, had done much toward making possible the Ursuline convent on Mt. Benedict, outside of Boston. Over in New Hampshire a little group of

⁴⁵ *Berichte*, 10:13. While Frederick Marryat, *Diary in America*, is not a critical work, the author testifies that Catholic priests were making converts c. 1840, see first series, 221. Ole M. Raeder, *America in the Forties*, 55-56, mentions the rumor of many proselytes made by priests, but said he knew of no Norwegian converts. Robert Baird, *op. cit.*, 1. ed., 271, admitted Protestants gained as much as Catholics by proselytism.

⁴⁶ *Berichte*, 11:33, 12:49, 14:30. Accounts of this nature are found outside of the *Berichte* as well. See the report of Bishop Bruté, *Catholic Historical Review*, 1943, 29:231-32.

⁴⁷ *Berichte*, 2:7.

⁴⁸ Samuel Smith was born and educated in Philadelphia. According to his *Renunciation of Popery*, c. 1832, his father belonged to the Society of Friends and his mother had no special religion. Samuel went to St. Louis where he was first a fur trader, then a farmer. There some Catholic acquaintances induced him to accept their religion, and soon the bishop of St. Louis invited him to teach in a college which he had established. Later he studied for the priesthood, and, after his ordination, spent two years at Monroe working among the French whom the frontier had corrupted. They did not get along with their pastor very well, and when the bishop transferred him, the bishop made no concessions to the parishioners but on the contrary vindicated the pastor. After that Smith, who developed a hatred of Catholic institutions, retired to his relatives at Wellsville. In addition to the above booklet which saw several editions, he wrote *The Flight of Popery to the West*.

Catholics was formed after the preacher, Mr. Barber, had become Catholic.⁴⁹ In Buffalo the Irish were served several years by a priest who had been a Methodist preacher.⁵⁰

Bishop Kenrick, coadjutor of Philadelphia, recorded that Father Miller, the priest in charge of Chambersburg, midway between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, had been born of Protestant parents, and Father Lekew at Conways, near Maryland, had been a Protestant minister. The former was an American, the latter a Belgian. Since both knew German, they were doubly valuable to the diocese.⁵¹ This bishop also alluded to Father Lemcke, formerly a German Lutheran preacher and successor to the renowned Gallitzin. Salzbacher in his *Meine Reise nach Nordamerika* mentions that Lemcke had been a famous preacher in Germany. He became a Catholic in 1823, and two years later was ordained by the celebrated leader in the German Catholic revival, Bishop Michael Sailer of Regensburg.⁵² This visitor from Vienna also noted that when Henni gave up editing the *Wahrheitsfreund*, he was succeeded by a convert, Max Oertel.

In conclusion, while converts were multiplied in Germany owing to the Romantic movement, and while England watched the Oxford Movement veer Romewards, the United States beheld an increase in the number of converts to Catholicism, even though the missionaries were burdened with so many duties and hardships that it was impossible for them to devote their full talents to spreading the Church's doctrine among Protestants.⁵³ After 1840, however, the Church had to face keener competition and increased opposition, so Catholic leaders gradually

⁴⁹ *Berichte*, 6:20-22.

⁵⁰ *Berichte*, 13:66.

⁵¹ *Berichte*, 15:6.

⁵² Salzbacher, *op. cit.*, 171; *Berichte*, 15:5.

⁵³ The question of converts in America is touched on in Robert Gorman, *Catholic Apologetical Literature in the United States (1784-1858)*, 123-147. The only prominent German work was Moehler's *Symbolism*.

The reader may wonder why the above data on converts was incorporated into this study since the converts were not Austrian. The reason is to complete the picture which the *Berichte* gave concerning the Church in the United States.

The *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* often give a roseate picture of convert making in America. For example, old series 23: 514, 527, 556, new series 15:364, 369.

retired into their own buildings and directed their efforts almost exclusively to their own flocks.

Although the American mission field naturally divides itself into four groups, namely, the Indians, the Negroes, the immigrants,⁵⁴ and the Protestants, only the first and the third group attracted the Austrians. The Indians merit a separate chapter not only because of the unconventional nature of their missions, but also because of the unusual amount of attention which the Austrian missionaries devoted to the redskins who, unlike their white and black neighbors, lacked the bare rudiments of civilization.

⁵⁴ Immigrants can be subdivided into settled immigrants and newly arrived immigrants. At the *Katholiken Tag* in Vienna 1853 the project of immigrant aid was discussed. The *Berichte*, 26:64-66, carried a notice of it. A committee was appointed to study what could be done to help emigrants in general. Some members were to study the conditions at points of embarkation and during the voyage; the Ludwig Society and the Leopoldine Society were to provide information on aiding the arriving immigrants; and the American hierarchy was exhorted to co-operate in the work. For another decade nothing eventuated.

CHAPTER V

THE AUSTRIANS AND THE INDIANS

The Indians played a large role in the early issues of the *Berichte* because it was easy to write something extraordinary about them and hold the attention of the readers. The narratives of the missionaries, as it were, confirmed and supplemented the highly esteemed works of men like Chateaubriand, Cooper, and Sealsfield. The letters in the *Berichte* featured especially the Indians who lived in the area around Lake Superior and Lake Michigan. Catholicism was not entirely a novelty in that region for the shores of the former had been hallowed by the preaching of Fathers Marquette and Allouez, while on the shores of the latter lay the famous mission of Arbre Croche which is now called Harbor Springs and is part of the diocese of Grand Rapids.

In 1830 Father Résé wrote that the Indians in his diocese were friendly to the Church and wanted Black Robes, and that the Protestant missionaries had almost no success with the Indians. He planned to educate young Indians who in turn should convert their brethren in the forests. Evidently he mentioned this to encourage donations for a seminary, for he wrote: "But years will pass before these seminarians will be able to preach the Gospel even though they exhibit much talent and great zeal for the conversion of their brethren. We have already accepted two and hope soon to get more, but at present the seminary is still a cow barn." The first number of the *Berichte* discussed copiously the successes of Father Dejean at Arbre Croche and the educational work of Mr. L'Etournau, the music teacher, and of Misses Baille and Williams among the Indian women and children. Miss Baille and the priest made a thorough study of the Ottawa language and eventually they were able to print a prayerbook in that language at a cost of \$334.¹

In 1830 Father Dejean had a school with sixty-three pupils,

¹ *Berichte*, 1:13-15, 27. James Pilling, *Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages*, lists a religious work by Dejean as having appeared in Detroit in 1830 having 106 pages. The compiler thought that there may have been an earlier version.

twenty-five of whom were boarders. Their names, ages, and a record of progress were printed as a novelty in the *Berichte*. Naturally, the boarders paid no tuition because their parents were only able to furnish some corn and potatoes. Besides teaching the Indians in the wild North, Dejean apparently had sent two to the monks of St. Rose in Kentucky and in the course of a year they made great progress in Latin and the elementary sciences. The same number of the *Berichte* mentions that at Florissant the Jesuits taught the Indians reading, writing, and agriculture, and at that time they had fifteen pupils.²

The second number of the *Berichte* is similarly devoted to Indian affairs. Father Stephen Badin and a Sister of Charity from Detroit had arrived at the St. Joseph River and the priest, with the help of Mrs. Campau as interpreter, was preparing seventy candidates for baptism. The same issue again praised Father Dejean who had been only two years at Arbre Croche and had admitted 600 into the Church and supervised two schools, one for boys and one for girls. Among these converts liquor was no longer seen, and some of the boys had even gone along with Father Résé to Cincinnati for higher studies—possible candidates for the priesthood. In August, 1831, Résé reported favorably on three Indian boys and one Indian girl who had gone to Cincinnati for educational purposes, and later Résé arranged for two Indians to enter the Propaganda in Rome. Bishop England in 1833 observed that the Dominicans in the diocese of Bardstown formerly had two Indians with them, who, at the time of his writing, were studying in Rome.³ Dejean, however, did not remain long at Arbre Croche. The third number of the *Berichte* carried the news that he had returned to France and had been succeeded by the Austrian Baraga.⁴ Nearly half a century ago Father Verwyst gave to the world a detailed biography of Bishop Baraga⁵ which has

² *Berichte*, 1:20, 32.

³ *Berichte*, 3:20; 4:4; 6:30. Fenwick already had planned to send two Indians to the Propaganda. See *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, old series, 23:521. These references probably all refer to the two mentioned in footnote 7 following.

⁴ *Berichte*, 3:6.

⁵ P. Chrysostomus Verwyst, *Life and Labors of Rt. Rev. Frederic Baraga, First Bishop of Marquette, Mich., to which are Added Short Sketches of the Lives and Labors of Other Indian Missionaries of the Northwest*, Milwaukee, M. H. Wiltzius and Co., 1900, xv+476.

led some to believe that his work was singular in the last century. Great though he was, Baraga was only one of the many Indian missionaries of that time who worked among the Indians east of the Mississippi. Fathers Saenderl and Haetscher, for example, were active among the Menominees; Father Mazzuchelli among the Winnebagoes, Fathers Stephen Badin and Deseille among the Potawatomis on the St. Joseph River. In the middle of the thirties, these five, plus Baraga, constituted half the entire clergy of the diocese of Detroit. The other six, engaged in the service of the Whites, were Fathers Vincent Badin, Van den Poel, de Bruyn, Bonduel, Vizsoczky, and Carabin⁶. The 1836 *Berichte* reported that Résé was soon going to come to Europe with six Indians as candidates for the Propaganda College in Rome.⁷ Surely no one can say that the diocese of Detroit neglected its native population.

Green Bay was a center of early Christianization. In 1821 Father Gabriel Richard began a church, and in 1825 Father V. Badin almost finished it. In 1828 Dejean came there, but the church in Green Bay did not thrive. In 1830 an Anglican mission was opened which enjoyed considerable success. Simultaneously the Catholics were plagued with an ex-seminarian, M. Fauvel, who caused considerable trouble and through whose carelessness the church burned down.⁸ The next character to come upon the stage was Father Samuel Mazzuchelli, a Dominican, who had come to the United States in 1828 and had been ordained in Cincinnati on September 5, 1830, by Bishop Fenwick. A letter of the newly ordained, October 22, 1830, observed that the vicar general Résé had urged him to build a church in Green Bay.⁹ Mazzuchelli made his headquarters at Mackinac, but often visited Green Bay, and by October, 1831,

⁶ *Berichte*, 7:4.

⁷ *Berichte*, 9:30. One of Résé's students, William Macatebinessi, an Ottawa of Arbre Croche, died in Rome June 25, 1833, while a student at the Propaganda College. See Verwyst, *op. cit.*, 462-63. The *Catholic Historical Review*, 1943, 29:275, mentions this student and another, Augustine Hamelin, also of Arbre Croche, who returned home in 1834 owing to sickness. These two were the first to enjoy the Jeffroy legacy.

⁸ Soeur Rosemary Crepeau, O.P., *Un Apôtre Dominicain Aux Etats-Unis*, 25, 33.

⁹ For document see *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 14:166-67.

he had a wooden church, 80' x 38', finished up to the roof. That summer Bishop Fenwick had visited in Green Bay and confirmed about 100 people. Both Résé and Fenwick thought Green Bay a strategic missionary center, and when Résé succeeded in getting Austrian Redemptorists to come to America he at once sent them to the Territory of Michigan. The Redemptorists arrived in New York on June 20, 1832, and on August 31 Father Saenderl was in Green Bay whither he was followed by Father Haetscher.¹⁰ Saenderl finished Mazzuchelli's church in 1833 and the debt on St. Francis Xavier Church then amounted to \$1,000. The presence of the Redemptorists enabled Mazzuchelli to travel far and wide; in 1832 he went to Prairie du Chien, in 1835 he made a second trip there, and in 1837 he was back in Green Bay for a short visit. Thereafter his name is associated mostly with southwestern Wisconsin and Iowa, but he was not forgotten among the Indians for he had compiled two catechisms—one in Menominee and one in Winnebago.¹¹

While he was in Green Bay two Poor Clare nuns conducted a successful school, and Mazzuchelli, expecting government aid to the extent of \$2,000, built a school in 1834. Thus he created a large debt, and no money was forthcoming from the government.¹² To meet the emergency the bishop of Detroit paid \$1,000 which he had received from the Propaganda, and the Redemptorists paid about \$1,500 which they had received from the Leopoldine Society. By this time the Redemp-

¹⁰ John Byrne, *The Redemptorist Centenaries*, 41-44. Later Résé maintained that the Redemptorists were to labor exclusively among the Indians. *Ibid.*, 56. See also *Berichte*, 3:26.

¹¹ Peter L. Scanlan, *Prairie du Chien French, British, American*, 201. James D. Butler, "Father Samuel Mazzuchelli," *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 14:159, says that the Winnebago catechism was a translation of Baraga's Ottawa catechism. This was printed in Detroit, 1833, contained 18 small octavo pages and was entitled *Ocangra Aramee Wawakakara*.

¹² *Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel Mazzuchelli*, 121-31. The government did make grants of money to missionaries for civilizing the Indians but they were never large. The government publications contain the record of the donations. For example *Senate Document*, No. 1, pp. 254-55, 23 Congress, 2 session, under date of 1834, reports that the

Baptist General Convention received..	\$2,000 per year
American Board of Foreign Missions..	2,200 per year
Catholic Church	1,300 per year
Methodist Episcopal	400 per year

torists were not interested in staying in the diocese of Detroit any longer, but Bishop Résé would not let them go, just as he previously had refused Mazzuchelli's request to leave. The Redemptorists concluded that Résé thought they were well adapted to paying off Mazzuchelli's debts. This did not contribute to their enthusiasm for the place, especially as there is some evidence that there was a whispering campaign going on in Green Bay against the clergy.¹³ Besides all this, the Leopoldine Society did not remit as much money as was expected, and it was impossible to found a house in Green Bay which corresponded to the spirit of their order.

In so far as their work was concerned, the Redemptorists were successful with the Indians. Father Saenderl wrote that from September 1, 1832, to July 26, 1833,

"... 221 people have been baptized in Green Bay. Of these 130 are Chippewa and Menominee Indians. The rest are nearly all French *metis*, that is, the off-spring of French-Canadian fathers and Indian mothers. The Chippewa Indians who live here in the Bay were the first to be converted to Christianity. The Menominees were the last, but apparently in a short time they will be the most numerous."¹⁴

Among other things the Redemptorists brought along a harmonica, an invention of Mr. Deutschmann of Vienna, which certainly must have fascinated the Indians.¹⁵ On a diocesan scale the work among the Indians did not diminish, for Résé in October, 1834, reported having twelve Indian churches and about 3,000 converts. Father Saenderl left Green Bay for Arbre Croche in August, 1833, where he followed Father Baraga. Within nine months he learned the Indian language and forthwith he projected an Ottawa grammar and dictionary. In June, 1835, following a disagreement with Bishop Résé, he went to the diocese of Cincinnati. He returned again to the diocese of Detroit and the following year he began a three-year pastorate

¹³ See *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 14:194-95.

¹⁴ Byrne, *op. cit.*, 45-46. *Berichte*, 9:39, carries an eulogy on Saenderl by Résé, who confirmed 120 Indians at Arbre Croche. Nearly all the Indians could read and write. Drunkenness was vanishing.

¹⁵ *Berichte*, 7:28-35. Without giving any details, the *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 14:193, lists a number of names of donors toward an organ in Green Bay under date of 1834. It is said that Father Richard brought the first organ and the first piano to Detroit.

at Arbre Croche. Father Haetscher left Green Bay in November, 1833, and in 1834 Résé visited him in Sault Ste. Marie where he was pastor. In 1836 Haetscher went back to Green Bay where he remained until May, 1837, when Father Theodore Van den Broek, O.P., took over his work.¹⁶ Father Haetscher returned to Vienna and within two years his confrères had abandoned the Indian missions, an event which coincides with the decline of Résé's jurisdiction over the diocese of Detroit.

On March 28, 1836, the Indians of the Upper Lakes made a contract with the United States whereby the latter would pay \$8,000 annually for twenty years to educate Chippewas and Ottawas of the Upper Lakes. Late in 1839 Henry R. Schoolcraft, the agent at Mackinac, reported that the money had been divided among five sects and that the Catholic Church had engaged four teachers who cared for 230 pupils.

"One hundred and eleven of these pupils are located at L'Arbre Croche, and at the village of the Cross, all under the care of the Rev. P. Simon Saenderl. Forty-six are under the tuition of Mrs. Mary Ann Fisher, at Michillimackinac; the same number of Maria Scott, at Point St. Ignace, and 32 of the Rev. Francis Pierz, at Sault Ste. Marie. Mr. Pierz remarks that the school at St. Mary's was undertaken by him in 1836, with 40 scholars, and kept up in 1837, in the summer of which the children were nearly all taken off by their parents to assist in fishing . . . They are taught reading and writing, both in the French and English languages. Mr. Saenderl states in his report, that his pupils at L'Arbre Croche 'understand well their own Indian books, and are able to write down their sentiments on paper.' The chief difficulty they encounter is from the want of a settled orthography. They are also instructed in the science of numbers, and in various economical arts."¹⁷

Bishop Bruté, who took over the new diocese of Vincennes which was carved out of parts of Detroit and Bardstown, spoke of Indian Missions in a letter published in Vienna in 1838. He gave the number of his priests as thirteen, two of whom were Indian missionaries. In South Bend, Indiana, Father Deseille

¹⁶ Byrne, *op. cit.*, 48, 50, 59; *Berichte*, 9:28-41; Pilling, *op. cit.*, lists Indian mss. of Saenderl. Van den Broek had come to the United States in 1832 and was affiliated with the Dominicans in Kentucky.

¹⁷ *Senate document*, No. 1, p. 513, 26 Congress, 1 session. Later congressional documents contain letters of Bishop Lefevre in whose diocese the missions were, but the letters are too general to have historical value.

was still active, and Logansport enjoyed the services of Father Francois. The next issue of the *Berichte* reported the death of Deseille, hardly forty years old, who for seven years had heroically labored among the Indians. The bishop was well pleased with the progress that his Indians were making under the Jesuits but he feared lest the wilder tribes coming from Canada would uproot the faith of the American Indians.¹⁸

In 1837 Bishop Rosati, of St. Louis, in a letter to Vienna included a paragraph on the Indian mission of his diocese. It was founded in 1828 by Father Lutz, but he occupied the post only five months and it was only ten months prior to the bishop's writing that the mission had been reopened by the Jesuits.¹⁹ Dubuisson's report in the *Berichte* narrated that the first Jesuit superior of Missouri, Father Van Quickenborne, although not very strong, visited the Indians, baptized many, and founded a college for young Indians near St. Louis.²⁰ Lack of means, the great distances between mission stations, and the nomadic traits of the Indians made its success impossible. In June, 1841, Rosati wrote a very optimistic letter from Rome to Vienna, pointing out that not only had many Protestants joined the Church but that his missionaries had crossed the Rocky Mountains and had founded successful missions in a region 4,000 miles away.²¹ De Smet's lengthy report of this was published in its entirety. The fact that many of these reports about Indian missions were concerned with labors of priests other than Austrians shows that the Leopoldine Society was attracted to this kind of work regardless of the nationality of the missionary.²²

¹⁸ *Berichte*, 11:29; 12:35; 13:5. Bruté also mentions the success of Deseille in his report of 1836. See *Catholic Historical Review*, 1943, 29:190-91.

¹⁹ Lutz was a nephew of the celebrated German apologist, Father L. Doller, who died in Mainz in 1820. Lutz had been sent to America in 1826 by the archbishop of Paris, and the bishop of St. Louis assigned him to the Indian missions.

²⁰ *Senate Document*, No. 1, Vol. 1, p. 166, 21 Congress, 2 session, lists fifty-two Indian schools, of which only one was Catholic. That was located at Florissant, established by the Jesuits. The teachers counted eight and the pupils fifteen. The government paid \$400 per annum to this school. The total expenditure was \$6,650 for the education of 1,512 pupils. The report bears the date November 25, 1830. See also *House Document*, No. 2, 22 Congress, 1 session.

²¹ *Berichte*, 15:24.

²² *Berichte*, 12:51; 15:26-50; 17:66-84.

The same number of the *Berichte* which contained the account of De Smet carried a letter from Father Pierz, an Austrian, dated March 16, 1841, lamenting that north and west of Lake Superior and beyond the Mississippi and the Missouri countless heathens had never seen a priest. Though unable to estimate the number of converted Indians, he enumerated the ten important missions of the Detroit diocese. On Lake Michigan, Arbre Croche, Lacroix, and Grande Riviere; on Lake Superior, Rapide at Saut, Michipikoton, Fort William, Grande Portage, Lapointe, L'Anse, and Fond du Lac. These were located within a distance of 900 miles and were cared for by an Austrian triumvirate consisting of Fathers Baraga, Viszoczky, and the author, namely, Pierz.²³

Although the *Berichte* deals almost exclusively with the United States, it carried one letter from the bishop of Kingston, Canada, written February 13, 1837, in which he told of having visited the Indians around Lake Huron and of having tried to satisfy their desire for priests. Over 3,000 of those on Lake Huron made their Easter duty, but he said that many of the Indians in those provinces which France ceded to England after the suppression of the Jesuits largely reverted to ignorance and idolatry. The bishop also told how the Indians who had been dispersed by the Americans and driven back to the woods asked to be allowed to settle on English soil. This was granted and the Indians thus procured for themselves and their children a large strip of land on Lake Huron.²⁴ Father Henni, writing to Europe, casually mentioned that the Indians around Sandusky used to go in large groups to Canada to make their Easter duty.²⁵ The official publications of the United States government also mention the fact that some Indians went to Canada. These migrations were often only for a short time in order to collect some benefits, and, consequently, the officials of the United States were not in favor of the Indians crossing the border.

Bishop England, a Southerner, touched on the Indian

²³ *Berichte*, 15:68-69.

²⁴ *Berichte*, 11:36-40. The Leopoldine Society sent the bishop 6,000 florins for a seminary.

²⁵ *Berichte*, 9:20.

problem a number of times in the *Berichte*. In his general survey of 1833 he was on the defensive:

"In Europe it was thought that countless Indians should quickly be converted. Those who entertained such hopes did not have an opportunity to study the condition of our missions or of the primitive inhabitants of America. In the first place, priests were lacking. Indeed, if we were unable to take care of the needs of already existing Catholics, a person could not expect us preferably to look for those who had never heard the name of Jesus Christ. If this does not satisfy a person let it be asked, what would a man think of a priest who would leave children without baptism, his flock without Mass, his confessional without the means of reconciliation and dying people without the help of religion, who would desert converts and old adherents of the faith because they are white and only for the happy possibility of winning savages to the faith or to give a few Indians a few concepts of Christianity. Bereft of means as we were we could not do both at once . . . Now after our seminaries are founded and our means increased, we will soon be able to care for the Whites as well as for the Red skins."²⁶

The bishop went on to say that no one knew how long the Indians would remain in their habitat, and, secondly, it would have been untimely to try to convert them while the relations with the Whites were so embittered. Now that the Indians were to be protected by the national government, the bishops could act collectively and some of the money from Europe would be used for that purpose. Quite erroneously Bishop England hoped for much good from the attempt to unite all the Indians. Some solace was offered the reader by the remark that the progeny of Indians converted earlier had generally remained true to the faith and that the Protestants had not succeeded in misleading them. On October 10, 1838, in a letter to Vienna, Bishop England remarked that only two years earlier had Catholic laborers begun to immigrate, and he hoped that more would settle in the regions evacuated by the Cherokees.²⁷ That his hope for a substantial growth of his diocese was worse than vain is seen by paging through the Catholic Directories published a century after this letter was written. The diocese of Charleston still comprised the whole state of South Carolina but it included less than 13,000 Catholics.

²⁶ *Berichte*, 6:43-45.

²⁷ *Berichte*, 12:69.

Farther north, on the Atlantic coast, the Indian problem was of small proportions. Bishop Hughes in 1836 reported that the whole state of New York and half of New Jersey had about 200,000 Catholics. There were, however, only between 1,000 and 1,200 Catholic Indians besides 2,000 pagans or semi-Protestant Indians. The Catholic Indians lived along the Canadian border, and were cared for by a Canadian priest to whom Hughes had sent an assistant.²⁸ Bishop Timon of Buffalo, writing to the archbishop of Vienna in 1850, estimated that his diocese embraced a million Protestants, 3,000 Indians and about 50,000 Catholics, of which 30,000 were German. Regarding the Indians he wrote:

"Up till now I could do little or nothing for the 3,000 Indians who are in my diocese. I visited them once to study their condition and their needs, but my poverty prevented me from doing more. Moreover, each of the tribes has a Protestant preacher who is not paid by them but by the state. If these poor red skins were to be pastorized by our priests it would be necessary to support them and endow them with enough gifts to capture the good will of the Indians. Moreover, at present, I have all too few priests to think seriously about the pastoral care of the residents of the forest. As experience shows, the Protestant missions among these and other Indians have not been very productive. Among the 900 Indians who, in our neighborhood, live at Tonawanda and in the village of Seneca, only 18 attend Protestant services."²⁹

By 1850 the Indians had been exiled from the more populous sections of the Eastern seaboard. In fact, their domains in the Middle West were rapidly diminishing, but simultaneously some very effective work was being done among the Indians of the Middle West along Lake Superior and Lake Michigan.

In 1842 the diocese of Detroit had from three to four thousand Catholic Indians. Father Pierz, whose biography is outlined in the chapter on secular priests, pointed with pride to the Indians at Arbre Croche who were not forced to vacate their homes because they had become civilized. Although he travelled along the Great Lakes a great deal, he pivoted around Arbre Croche till 1852 when he went to the new diocese of St. Paul, where he remained until his return to Europe. Although

²⁸ *Berichte*, 10:6.

²⁹ *Berichte*, 24:8, 13-14.

an old man when he began his career as a missionary, Pierz proved himself versatile. He taught the Indians agriculture, he had them build a saw mill and he planned a grist mill, he vaccinated the Indians, and saw his agricultural lessons produce so large a harvest that the Indians could sell surplus produce to the miners who came in increasing numbers to the region of Lake Superior. Besides this, Pierz was busy with his pen. He wrote a Life of Jesus in Indian, and a small catechism. Besides, he composed a large catechism, seventy Indian sermons suitable for Sundays and feast days, and projected an Indian Way of the Cross. Judging from his letters of 1845 it seems that Pierz had 2,000 Catholic Indians under his jurisdiction and he had over 200 school children in his missions. Half of his parishioners could read, and since the whole literature was restricted to Baraga's books, the urge to become literary grew strong in Pierz. In 1845 the venerable old priest received an Austrian assistant in the person of Father Mrak, later the bishop of Marquette, and later he had as a helper Father Lautischar, who soon after his arrival in Minnesota froze to death.³⁰

Since Father Baraga ended his career as a bishop, the record of his deeds will be found in another chapter. Nevertheless, his importance is primarily that of an Indian missionary. Besides building churches and schools he organized a total abstinence society which was a lethal weapon against the red man's

³⁰ *Berichte*, 16:33, 51; 17:57; 20:59-64; 21:71; 22:97. Although Pierz wrote Indian books he seems never to have published them. See *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. Pierz. He did, however, publish books in European languages.

The government documents occasionally have references to Pierz. In *Senate Document*, No. 1, p. 357, 26 Congress, 1 session, Pierz reported having sixty-five pupils at Arbre Croche and forty-two at the Village of the Cross. *Ibid.*, p. 380, reports that Pierz' school at Grand Portage was temporarily closed.

Senate Document, No. 1, p. 303, 27 Congress, 2 session, lists five Catholic schools under Pierz and Santelli. The latter was a priest active in the environs of Mackinac, Point St. Ignace and La Manistee.

Executive Document, No. 2, p. 466, 27 Congress, 3 session, contains a report of Santelli to the effect that Pierz had established a school with forty pupils at Sault Ste. Marie but had discontinued it. The school which he began at Grand Portage was improving.

Senate Document, No. 1, p. 322, 28 Congress, 1 session, contains a letter from Pierz, c. 1843, stating that he had three schools and four assistants. That year he received \$400 from the government.

predominant fault.³¹ He published a number of Indian books, some of which saw several editions. Sometimes he employed an American publisher, a fact which expedited proof reading, but sometimes he entrusted the difficult task to European presses. Printing was expensive, as some of the bills attest.

"Our Indian mission books which I had printed in Paris in 1837 are almost all gone . . . There are two of these books. The one contains all the prayers which a Catholic needs, a large number of hymns, and a catechism. It covers 256 pages. The other book contains excerpts of Bible history of the Old Testament, a Life of Jesus, excerpts from the Acts of the Apostles . . . It contains 268 pages. I am having 2,000 copies of the prayer book printed and 1200 of the Gospel Book. Moreover, I am having 400 catechisms printed separately for the school children. I have enlarged and greatly improved the prayer book in this third edition. The whole edition costs \$516 in this expensive land, and the binding will cost \$164. So the total amounts to \$680. Most of this I have already paid, and the \$242 which I recently received from Your Grace [of Vienna] came in very handy."³²

In 1847 Baraga had his dictionary and grammar of the Chippewa language compiled, but since the printing would amount to at least \$400, the missionary reminded his princely benefactor that he could remove that obstacle from his path. In the following year Baraga reported that the dictionary had become very large and that \$600 would be necessary for the publication of both books. A letter of September 1, 1850, reported the grammar had been printed as also an Indian meditation and instruction book, but the dictionary was so large a job that it had to be postponed.³³

³¹ *Berichte*, 20:57. Temperance societies abounded in the last century, so Baraga did not introduce anything unusual. See Frederick Marryat, *Diary in America*, first series, 227, Byrne, *op. cit.*, 201.

³² *Berichte*, 20:55-56. Pilling, *op. cit.*, devotes six pages to Baraga's literature in the Indian tongue. His earliest work appeared in 1832 in Detroit. See also Richard Elliott, "The Chippewas and Ottawa: Father Baraga's Books in Their Language," *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, 1897, 22:18-46. The same author has a number of articles on Baraga in the preceding and subsequent numbers of the same publication. It is of interest to note that the mission of Arbre Croche was attended by Jesuits in the middle of the eighteenth century, and one of them, Father Pierre Du Jaunay, in 1741 compiled a ms. dictionary of 581 pages of the Ottawa language which is now at McGill College, Montreal.

³³ *Berichte*, 21:62; 22:87; 24:92.

Another Austrian, Father Skolla, a Franciscan, worked in the neighborhood of the Apostle Islands. His letters, like those of Father Mrak, kept alive Austrian interest in the well being of the red skins so far away from the imperial splendor of Vienna.³⁴

In 1852 Bishop Cretin of St. Paul received a donation of 3,000 florins in acknowledgment of which he wrote that he had under his care 30,000 Indians, but that only four priests worked among them.³⁵

Bishop Loras, of Dubuque, in 1842 wrote the Leopoldine Society that he had begun two missions among the Sauks and the Sioux Indians from which he expected significant results. The bishop also discussed the fact that the government had contracted with the Indians to recede to the western part of Iowa by May 1, 1843, and after three years to leave entirely. This evacuation would be followed by an inrush of farmers and speculators, and Protestants would do all they could to procure advantages. Nevertheless, the Catholic bishop resolved to face the competition and erect all kinds of benevolent institutions. In the following year Loras planned a new mission among the Sioux in the cold northern regions of Iowa Territory and two more among the Winnebagoes and Sauks. The bishop observed that Indian missions were especially problematic because the Indians could contribute absolutely nothing, yet the missionary had to provide his transportation, his maintenance and an interpreter, besides gifts with which to win the good will of the Indian.³⁶

Deep down in the South in 1844 John Odin, vicar apostolic of Texas, wrote to Vienna that he could do nothing for the Indians owing to a lack of means and priests. He apparently thought the Indians well disposed toward the faith but he knew well the cost of a permanent mission.³⁷

³⁴ *Berichte*, 20:64-78; 23:91-108. Skolla baptized William Daniel Gordon, the father of Rev. Philip Gordon, one of the few Indian priests in the United States.

³⁵ *Berichte*, 25:121, and appendix to No. 25.

³⁶ *Berichte*, 16:39; 17:24.

³⁷ *Berichte*, 19:4, 10.

When all these excerpts from the *Berichte* are brought together it might seem that the Leopoldine Society was extensively concerned with the Indians. One reason for the prominence of Indian missions in the *Berichte* is the fact that several prominent Austrian priests spent many years among the Indians and their letters provided something appropriate for printing. In reality it became evident to the members of the society between 1840 and 1850 that Indians formed only a small element in the American dioceses, and that vast numbers of impoverished Germans had found new homes in the Northwest territory. Accordingly, the conversion of the Indians receded into the background and emphasis was placed upon aiding white people to keep their faith.³⁸ It need hardly be added that the literary works of the Austrian missionaries retained their value and even increased in value, not only for subsequent missionaries but also for philologists who at times have no other written records of Indian languages than those made by the preachers of the gospel.

³⁸ Ole Raeder, *America in the Forties*, 56-57, writing in 1847-48 said that the Church was more successful with the Indians than with the Whites and that she was employing her best forces in the Indian missions. This view of a non-Catholic may be due to the fact that in the far West De Smet and others had accomplished spectacular results while the quiet and rather routine parish work failed to attract his attention.

CHAPTER VI

AUSTRIA AND AMERICAN CATHOLIC INSTITUTIONS

Because the Indians differed so greatly from Europeans, the missionaries had to study their prospective neophytes carefully and then devise special means of effecting their conversion and their concomitant civilization. Since the immigrants were nothing else but Europeans transplanted into a strange and undeveloped land, their attitudes and needs were readily understood by the missionaries who themselves were immigrants. However, understanding needs never extinguishes them, and a long time elapsed before the Catholic Church could adequately care for the needs of her adherents.

Few people who fondle a new born baby are so unromantic as to reflect scientifically that in so tiny an organism many organs are harmoniously co-operating and that those highly specialized organs developed from a mass of undifferentiated cells. In so far as the Church in the United States is concerned in the period under consideration, she may be said to have been at the stage when her general work began to become specialized and to develop special organs. This led to the formation of a school system, a hospital system, an orphanage system, and other systems, yet in reality all these systems working together are only separate aspects of the Church at work.

The Leopoldine Society, like a loving mother, focused its undifferentiated attention upon the American church, and, since its objective was general, its funds were allotted to any worthy cause. No one would be surprised to learn that the Leopoldine Society helped to finance churches, and, since a church without a priest is almost useless, it was but natural for the society to supply priests not only by inspiring Europeans to come to America but also by assisting seminary projects in the United States.

The first issue of the *Berichte* explained that the Leopoldine Society was going to be especially generous to the diocese of Cincinnati because that diocese was very poor and needed a

seminary to rear a native clergy. American boys would best understand the role of a priest in a Protestant country and they would realize the need for knowing several languages. Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati, himself a Dominican, tried in the twenties to induce Dominicans from Kentucky and from Europe to manage a combination college-seminary, but the bishop was not successful.¹ Nevertheless, in 1825 he bought land for a seminary, and, in May, 1829, when he opened it, he dedicated it to St. Francis Xavier. In October, 1831, in connection with the seminary of St. Francis Xavier, Fenwick opened a college called the Athenaeum. The building measured 130 by 50 feet and was two and one-half stories high. Already in 1830 Father Résé had planned to educate Indians and then have them return as priests to their brethren to preach the gospel. Two Indian candidates from Michigan had been received and more were expected to follow.² The second issue of the *Berichte* discussing the schools at Arbre Croche, now called Harbor Springs, Michigan, reported that several Indians had gone along with Father Résé to Cincinnati in order to be educated, and to become priests. Baraga, upon arriving in Cincinnati, wrote to Austria in 1831 that he was staying in a dilapidated house, called the seminary.

"The order which is observed here pleases me very much. It is just like in a monastery. The bishop is our guardian. At five o'clock in the morning the bell wakes us. Before and after meals, prayers are said in monastic fashion, and after meals the pious prelate leads us to the chapel, which is attached to the building, in order to adore the Blessed Sacrament for a short time. At present five priests and four seminarians are here. Among the latter is the son of an Indian, a lad of 18 years, who knows English besides Indian, who plans to be ordained and work among his people."³

The college, which had been commenced and furthered by

¹ For the background of the history of seminaries see Lloyd McDonald, *The Seminary Movement in the United States: Projects, Foundations, and Early Development (1784-1833)*; William Morris, *The Seminary Movement in the United States: Projects, Foundations, and Early Development (1833-1866)*; Sebastian Erbacher, *Catholic Higher Education for Men in the United States (1850-1866)*.

² *Berichte*, 1:13. It soon became evident that Indians could not be successfully educated for the ministry. Baraga, later in life, said it should never be attempted. Verwyst, *op. cit.*, 307.

³ *Berichte*, 2:12-13.

Austrian money, had cost \$7,500, but \$4,000 were needed to complete it. When the Redemptorists from Vienna stopped in Cincinnati, the bishop was making a visitation tour, but Father Résé induced one of the priests to stay in Cincinnati to care for the Germans and he asked a brother to introduce the German cuisine into the seminary. Accordingly, Father Tschenhens and Brother James remained in Cincinnati.⁴

In November, 1833, Bishop Résé pointed to the fact that Cincinnati had both a spacious seminary and a college, and that the income of the latter was helping to support the seminary. This plan of supporting seminaries was common in many dioceses. A year later, however, Bishop Purcell, the successor of Fenwick, still complained that his college was not fully equipped, and that although the seminary had an enrollment of sixteen and promised a good future, it demanded a large outlay in the present. Father Dubuisson, S.J., in analyzing the seminary problem in a report printed in the *Berichte*, said it was hard to collect money because no appeal could be made to non-Catholics as was possible when charitable institutions were concerned. Secondly, collections for seminaries were something new and were not popular. Lastly, people gladly give toward the relief of a present want, but with seminaries the results are too far in the future to stimulate the people to generosity.⁵ Bishop Rosati, on the other hand, pointed out that in many places seminary societies took care of the finance problems.⁶ Despite the problems the diocese of Cincinnati did not abandon its seminary-college, and in 1838 Bishop Purcell reported that he had thirty priests, ten of whom knew German, and thirteen students of philosophy and theology.⁷

The diocese of St. Louis, like that of Cincinnati, had a seminary but it had been founded much earlier at Barrens by Bishop

⁴ *Berichte*, 5:24. The Athenaeum declined in the late thirties and on Sept. 6, 1840, it was announced that the Jesuits would operate it. Garraghan, *op. cit.*, 3:159-185.

⁵ *Berichte*, 11:26-27.

⁶ *Berichte*, 14:43.

⁷ *Berichte*, 12:61. Bishop Purcell had many difficulties with his seminary; its management changed often and in 1849 the name was changed to *Mount St. Mary Seminary of the West*, but the troubles continued.

Du Bourg of New Orleans. In 1830 it had an enrollment of 100 seminarians, twenty-eight of whom were free students. The staff consisted of four priests and nine brothers.⁸ Bishop Rosati of St. Louis often discussed his seminary at length in the letters which the *Berichte* printed, and Bishop England's report of 1833, which the *Berichte* also carried, had this to say of the Barrens seminary:

"The main missionaries of this diocese are the Lazarists who are in charge of the diocesan seminary with thirty free students. In connection with this seminary is a college which has one hundred students, and whose professors are empowered by the government of Missouri to give the academic degrees in arts and sciences. The income from the college is the main support of the seminary."⁹

In August, 1833, Bishop Rosati again referred to his college and seminary and added that a college had existed for several years prior to St. Louis University, but it had to close owing to lack of priests. In 1837 the college had 100 students and fifteen clerics,¹⁰ and on February 27, 1838, Rosati described his diocese as follows:

"The total of priests in the diocese of St. Louis is 68, of which 24 are Jesuits, 20 Lazarists, and the balance seculars. In 1837 I ordained 12. I have more than 40 students, some of whom have already received holy orders. To this number belong 19 Jesuits, and 9 Lazarists. The rest are seculars."¹¹

The bishop, however, was not satisfied with his seminary in Barrens, so he built a new one in St. Louis to enable the seminarians to catechize in the city, preach in the cathedral and other churches and become proficient in sacred song and ceremonies.¹²

For a few years the seminary at Barrens caused tension between the dioceses of St. Louis and New Orleans because it lay within the former diocese while the bishop of the latter had founded it and quite understandably wanted it moved within his jurisdiction. Eventually the diocese of New Orleans built

⁸ *Berichte*, 1:30-31.

⁹ *Berichte*, 6:41.

¹⁰ *Berichte*, 8:19; 11:34.

¹¹ *Berichte*, 12:48.

¹² *Berichte*, 14:42.

its own seminary and the Leopoldine Society contributed toward it.¹³

The diocese of Philadelphia with its large German element was an object of special affection on the part of the Leopoldine Society. Bishop Kenrick of Philadelphia on May 17, 1832, thanked the society for a gift, saying that he would try to start a seminary which he urgently needed for he had fifty churches but only thirty-eight priests for a Catholic population of 100,000.¹⁴ It seems that he started the project in June, 1832, and Bishop England in his report of 1833 said that Kenrick had started a seminary to which the Leopoldine Society had made the first contribution.¹⁵ About the same time Father Orsini donated the nascent seminary seventy-two volumes of Latin classics and in June, 1840, the bishop thanked all who had contributed to his library.¹⁶ Nearly all the money he got from the Leopoldine Society Kenrick used for rearing a clergy for his diocese. While most dioceses were experimenting with college-seminaries, Kenrick from the start operated a strictly clerical seminary.

Writing from Rome in 1838 Kenrick himself admitted this use of the funds received.¹⁷ He said that his seminary had already produced fifteen priests and that twelve or thirteen seminarians were getting ready for the Lord's vineyard. A few months prior to this writing, he had bought a large house and furnished it for that purpose. Another letter, from Philadelphia dated June 24, 1840, again announced to the Leopoldine Society that nearly all of the recent grant of \$2,500 had been allotted to the seminary. Only \$150 had been given to two German priests, Father Kuhr and Father Leviz, who were in the diocese. The bishop thought his seminary the most worthy project, and he observed that it would also help the Germans. Considering that this letter was written in the same year that Brandanus' denunciation of Irish bishops was printed right in

¹³ *Berichte*, 12:41; Morris, *op. cit.*, 66-69.

¹⁴ *Berichte*, 5:38.

¹⁵ *Berichte*, 6:25.

¹⁶ *Berichte*, 6:55. Kenrick later asked the bishop of Strassburg for books of theology and patrology, *Berichte*, 12:10.

¹⁷ *Berichte*, 13:71.

Philadelphia, it seems that Kenrick in none too successful a manner was trying to assuage his critics. Twenty-three students had already completed their studies in his seminary and had been ordained. Four of these had come from Germany, whose families then lived in Philadelphia, while the others were from Ireland. Another letter, of June 15, 1841, again thanked for a remittance which was going to be used for the seminary, which then included twenty-seven students, two of whom were German, one English, six American, and the rest Irish.¹⁸

The Philadelphia seminary apparently did not impress the Austrians, for in 1841 the Leopoldine Society forbade Kenrick to use more than 500 florins of a donation of 2,500 florins for the seminary. The balance was to be used exclusively for the Germans. Naturally the bishop had to agree to this but he protested that the Germans numbered less than 20,000 in the whole diocese, whereas the Irish exceeded 100,000, and as for the clergy, he summarized:

"Sixty missionaries constitute the clergy of the diocese. Ten are German, seven are Belgian or Alsatian and speak German, two are Americans of German ancestry and know German, and five are Americans. So the number of Irish priests is 36, of whom some have learned German and assist the Germans."¹⁹

Kenrick cautiously added that even though the bishops in America were trying to establish Tridentine seminaries in each diocese they were always glad to receive good priests from abroad.

Writing at the same time, May 4, 1841, the saintly Father Neumann, an Austrian, sketched a sorry picture of the Germans for the archbishop of Vienna.²⁰ According to him, the Germans needed many more priests. There were Germans who had not been to confession for years, young people from fifteen to twenty years old had only been baptized. If that continued,

¹⁸ *Berichte*, 14:1-2; 15-2. When Neumann became bishop of Philadelphia he raised the standards of the seminary and in 1859 founded a preparatory seminary. See Byrne, *op. cit.*, 312.

¹⁹ *Berichte*, 15:11-12.

²⁰ *Berichte*, 15:56-62. Saenderl in 1832 said the same as Neumann, that the Germans have great difficulty learning English. See Byrne, *op. cit.*, 42.

good priests would not be able to win them back to the Faith; that would take St. Francis Xaviers. More specifically he said:

"The German Catholic can expect almost nothing from the Irish priests. The different nationality, but especially the ignorance of the English language will always remain an obstacle, and will isolate him. Among the several hundred Irish priests there is not one who has gotten to that stage where he could successfully preside over a German parish. Besides, they have enough to do to care for their own people. The German immigrant does not learn enough English to make himself understood by an English priest. Especially in the country are there Germans who cannot understand an English sentence even though they have been in America for twelve or fifteen years. Even young folks who speak English often are unable to go to confession in English or to understand an English Catholic book."

Neumann expected little from the episcopal seminaries because tuition, amounting to \$200, was more than even a rich father could afford. Moreover, the special needs of a German priest were not satisfied in such schools. Consequently, the best solution he could offer was to form a priest society in Europe which would send German priests to the United States.²¹

Pittsburgh became a diocese in 1843 and within a month of his consecration Bishop O'Connor wrote to Vienna that he needed a seminary. In 1846 St. Michael's Seminary was opened and Father Mosetizh, who at the invitation of Father Lemcke had left the professor's chair in Goerz, Austria, taught Moral, Dogma and Scripture in addition to doing pastoral work among the Germans. In 1848 the Oblates took over the seminary, but they soon left, and the institution had a painful existence till its dissolution in 1876.

The diocese of New York deserves to be called a pioneer

²¹ The project of training priests abroad was not original with Neumann, and it outlived him by many years. In 1783 Benjamin Franklin suggested that English Benedictines train an American clergy in France. When Carroll needed German priests, a pastor in Mainz suggested that he send students to the seminary in that city. Carroll decided against the proposal because he thought that in German schools the prestige of the papacy was undermined. Later on, the Redemptorists attempted a mission seminary in Altötting, Bavaria, and in the sixties there was a similar seminary at Münster in Westphalia. Besides McDonald, *op. cit.*, 4, see John Lenhart, "The Short Lived American College at Münster in Westphalia, 1866-83?", *Social Justice Review*, 1942, 35:58-60, 94-96, 130-31.

in seminary construction, even though several of its early projects failed. Passing over some early history to 1836 the historian comes upon a letter of the bishop of New York, written to Vienna, saying that he had begun a school and seminary, but had to suspend building operations owing to lack of funds. He also lamented that he had only three German priests: Father Merz who was already advanced in years, Father Pax, and Father Raffener, an Austrian. Hughes, the coadjutor bishop, knew that it was easier to build churches than to get priests, but the laity did not realize that; people built churches presuming that a priest would automatically emerge.²² In April, 1840, the dynamic coadjutor wrote a report on the diocese while he was visiting in Vienna. He lamented the absence of a seminary and the dangers of adopting strange priests. Conditions must have improved rapidly because Hughes wrote to John G. Schwarz, the United States consul in Vienna, on January 6, 1841, that he had built the seminary at a cost of \$40,000, of which half was paid. The school counted two professors and sixteen theologians. Hughes' letter is somewhat defensive; it flatters the Germans slightly, observes that German is taught in the seminary, and that of the money received from Europe, "not one penny went exclusively to the Irish," because most of it went to the seminary.²³ This seminary was the successor to that of LaFargeville, a romantic retreat, once owned by Joseph Bonaparte of Spain who tried to abduct his brother to this Adirondack sanctuary. Hughes opened it as a seminary in 1838 under the title "St. Vincent de Paul," but by the spring of 1840 it was already closed. It failed because it was too much of a hermitage. Before the collapse, Hughes had already bought property at Fordham. The new seminary, aided by a donation from the Leopoldine Society, opened in autumn of 1840 under the name of St. Joseph, and the college of Fordham opened in June, 1841, with the seminarians as instructors. When the Lazarists who taught the seminarians left, the Jesuits purchased the college, took over the operation of the seminary and freed the seminarians from the task of teaching.²⁴

²² *Berichte*, 10:1-5.

²³ *Berichte*, 15:76-77; 14:80; 10:8.

²⁴ Morris, *op. cit.*, 21-23.

If the diocese of New York found it so hard how could bishops in places like Nashville and Dubuque plan to build seminaries and consider their lot lamentable because they lacked them? And yet around 1835 a seminary was even projected for Green Bay, Wisconsin.²⁵

Father Henni, the founder of the Catholic *Wahrheitsfreund*, was planning a German seminary in Covington, Kentucky, when he was appointed bishop of Milwaukee.²⁶ That did not cause Henni to abandon the project of a German seminary; it only altered its location. Both the Ludwig and the Leopoldine Society endorsed the project, and for ten years in the Milwaukee diocese a makeshift seminary opened and closed at intervals, and it operated at different locations. Despite all obstacles the project gained momentum. By March 1, 1855, Dr. Joseph Salzmann, an Austrian, had collected \$8,000 for the seminary, he had induced the clergy of the diocese to donate \$5,000, and he also had organized an auxiliary society. In January, 1856, the seminary opened in a large new building with one objective: to educate German speaking priests. Men of other nationalities were accepted from the beginning, but all learned German. The seminary may have taken the bilingual seminary of Strassburg as a model. The surprising thing is that St. Francis Seminary immediately drew a large enrollment. The first class of priests, fourteen in number, was ordained in 1859, and in the group was Kilian Flasch, later the bishop of La Crosse, Wisconsin. Europeans and Americans had long argued about

²⁵ *Berichte*, 9:40; 8:12 9:27-28; 12:91-92. For the diocese of Nashville 14:14, Vincennes 11:28; 13:7; 14:24. In fact, to discuss the seminary or the lack of the seminary seems to have been fashionable in corresponding with Vienna.

²⁶ The seminary work of Henni is discussed in detail by Peter Leo Johnson, *Salesianum*, October, 1929, to July, 1931.

It is interesting to note that a committee of the Fourth Provincial Council of Baltimore, 1840, took a decided stand against the erection of a special seminary whether at home or abroad. Recalling the Brandanus' diatribe and the letters of Inama quoted in chapter four, *supra*, which date from this same period, it is not surprising that Mr. J. B. Stallo, of St. Xavier College, Cincinnati, blamed the Irish for opposing the special seminary project. He added that Henni had been cut off from all usefulness to the German cause when he was sent to distant Milwaukee. See Peter Leo Johnson, *Centennial Essays for the Milwaukee Archdiocese 1843-1943*, 77-82.

the merits of foreign and diocesan seminaries; here was a tangible and simple answer to the question in the form of a regional foreign language seminary. This solution would have been less ideal had it not been for the development of the railroads. Two decades previously all centralization of education was undesirable because of the difficulty of transportation. Again, although St. Francis Seminary started in grand style in its home at St. Francis, for a whole decade before, the same organization had a most humble existence. What seems to have been a start was in reality the culmination of a long evolution.

The Leopoldine Society usually made unconditional grants to the bishops, so how much money went to seminaries cannot be ascertained. Owing to the controversy about the seminary in Philadelphia, the rôle of the society is fairly clear in that case. The seminary of the Milwaukee diocese was largely supported by American alms which were given in small quantities, ranging from fifteen cents to twenty dollars. While the Leopoldine Society helped many projects, all the aid of that society was given in the form of small encouraging contributions rather than in the form of grandiose establishments. Like the widow of Zarephath who fed Elijah, the society gave of its modest treasury in small amounts.

Lastly, in all the discussion of seminaries the advisability of training priests at a university is not mentioned. This is remarkable because the Tridentine legislation had not been observed everywhere in Europe. Perhaps the American bishops believed it impossible to build universities, whereas seminaries could be operated on an unpretentious scale. If such were their thoughts they can be excused from megalomania, an aberration which is suggested in the letters of those men whose diocese a hundred years later still could not support a seminary worthy of notice. It is barely possible that the large amount of stress laid on seminaries in the *Berichte* revived interest in seminaries in German speaking lands.²⁷

Looking back to the analogy of the embryo developing

²⁷ For the German attitude on seminaries last century, see Franz Schnabel, *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, 4:82-93. In Austria under Joseph II several attempts at centralizing seminaries had been made.

separate organs, it can be easily seen how this applies to the seminaries themselves. At first they included in themselves a place for the education of priests and for the higher education of laymen. The college departments, in turn, included the work which is done today in colleges, high schools, and even the upper grades of the primary schools. Today each of these subdivisions is a huge organization operating independently.

Since this chapter deals with the evolution of institutions in general, it cannot give a detailed account of the growth of primary schools. It has been observed above that from 1800 to 1850 German Catholic education made great progress in Europe, and, since many pioneer priests came from the best schools in Europe, a fact which even their enemies and competitors admitted, it was but natural for them to stress Catholic education.

From 1830 to 1840 most schools were voluntary projects conducted on a small scale. As far as Catholic education was concerned, often the priest taught school in the basement of the church, or in his house, or in rented quarters. That many of these schools were transitory stands to reason, for the pioneer priests often did not remain long in one place, and sometimes, intoxicated with enthusiasm, they started more than they could finish. When funds permitted, a layman was engaged to teach, but it was hard to secure such persons, and it was with a view to providing such characters that Dr. Joseph Salzmann eventually opened the pioneer Catholic normal school at St. Francis, Wisconsin. By 1840 the individual states of the Union had become more keenly interested in the maintenance of schools and in the enactment of laws aiming to improve the education of their citizens. Since America had little to offer in comparison to Europe, some states sent delegates abroad to study the educational systems of Europe with a view to improving the public schools in the United States.

The Church gradually had to meet more and more competition, but education had long been a specialty with her. The Viennese Redemptorist priests, who had succeeded in establishing themselves firmly by 1845, were enthusiastic devotees of Catholic schools and their work was facilitated by the presence of lay brothers who could make school work their profession. They, however, were entirely inadequate in number and had in

some instances no inclination for being school masters. A better solution to the school problem was reached when the School Sisters of Notre Dame arrived from Munich at St. Mary's colony, Pennsylvania, in which the Redemptorists were financially interested. This colony, like many of its idealistic contemporaries, failed miserably. Though both the nuns and the Redemptorists left it, the two orders remained close friends. The next move was the purchase of a building in Baltimore from the Redemptorists. There the School Sisters of Notre Dame began their work, and within a few years they moved their headquarters to the West, to a nascent German community on the shores of Lake Michigan, namely, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Nevertheless, when the Redemptorists opened new schools they called on the Notre Dame Sisters for help. Where the Redemptorists once worked single handed, a specialization took place and two orders combined their abilities for the welfare of souls.²⁸

While today mission societies gladly contribute toward building elaborate schools in the distant parts of the world, a century ago little attention was paid ex professo to schools in America from the standpoint of financial aid. While missionaries often mentioned the schools which they had organized for the Indians and for the Whites, it seems that the work of teaching was regarded as a routine ramification of a pastor's work. Even if the Leopoldine Society did not make definite grants of money for schools, by assisting individual priests and religious communities who were convinced of the value of religious education it also helped to lay the foundation of the Catholic school system. Referring back to the analogy of the infant and the embryo, it may be said that as nourishment given to an infant develops all the organs of the infant, so did the aid from Vienna develop the whole organism known as the Church.²⁹

²⁸ Byrne, *op. cit.*, 98, 147, 198, 230.

²⁹ An appreciation of the civic role of Catholic schools can be obtained by reading Richard Gabel, *Public Funds for Church and Private Schools*. Today it is commonly believed that the normal place for an American child is in a public school, but that common opinion is by no means traditionally American.

As the Church was solicitous for the growing child, she was also interested in the abandoned child. Considering the glorious role that charity plays in the New Testament, it should be no surprise to find Catholic charities operating in this country in a period when the Church had only the widow's mite to share.³⁰

Back in 1798 St. Joseph's Orphanage was founded in Philadelphia to care for those who had been made homeless by the epidemic of yellow fever which ravaged the city in 1796 and threatened it again in 1798. In 1807 the Roman Catholic Society of St. Joseph for the Maintenance and Education of Orphans was founded in order to provide a steady income, and in October, 1814, the Sisters of Charity from Emmitsburg took

³⁰ Prior to 1800 outdoor relief or a system of indenture was used to care for homeless children or the children were placed in poor houses together with the adults. All the large cities had such institutions. In 1809, for example, New York had 125 boys and 101 girls in such an institution. In 1844 Dorothy Dix, long remembered for her crusade on behalf of the insane and the soldiers during the Civil War, made a study of the situation and denounced the education which children in the poor houses received. Improvement resulted.

Public subsidy to private orphanages goes back as far as 1811 when New York State granted \$500 annually to the New York Orphan Asylum. Catholics received a like favor upon opening their asylum in 1817.

Before 1800 private benevolence had agencies in New Orleans, Savannah, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Boston. Shortly after 1800 a number of orphan societies were founded, and in 1831 Stephen Girard died and in his will founded a "college" in Philadelphia, which opened in 1848. This rich corporation laid great stress on education.

Under the terms of the will, the attitude of Girard College toward religion was fixed. Its author wrote: "I enjoin and require that no ecclesiastic, missionary, or minister of any sect whatsoever, shall ever hold or exercise any station or duty whatever in said college; nor shall any such person ever be admitted for any purpose, or as a visitor, within the premises appropriated to the purposes of the said college. In making this restriction, I do not mean to cast any reflection upon any sect or person whatever; but, as there is such a multitude of sects, and such a diversity of opinion amongst them, I desire to keep the tender minds of the orphans, who are to derive advantage from this bequest, free from the excitement which clashing doctrines and sectarian controversy are so apt to produce . . ."

Salzbacher, *op. cit.*, 119-21, discusses Girard College.

Of the seventy-seven institutions established prior to 1851, twenty-one were under Catholic auspices. See Homer Folks, *The Care of Destitute, Neglected and Delinquent Children*.

charge of the institution.³¹ Seven years later, in 1821, the same order opened St. Mary's Orphanage in Baltimore; in 1825 it took charge of St. Vincent's in Washington, D. C.; in 1828 St. Vincent's, Albany; in 1830 St. Peter's, Wilmington; and so on the list has grown down to the present.³²

Today, when social workers try to reduce the size and number of orphanages, it is proper to inquire into the reason which led to the foundation of so many of them a century ago. In the first place, two plagues, cholera and yellow fever, often left large numbers of orphans in their wake. Emergencies of this kind arose suddenly and had to be met equally quickly. After 1825 when the tide of immigrants increased, many of the immigrants died after weathering the exhausting ocean voyage. This gave the Church many children to look after, for a century ago families were larger than today and, hence, the task was proportionately great. The Church could not hesitate because there was grave danger that Catholic children would be adopted by Protestants or committed to hostile institutions and thus lose their faith.

It need scarcely be remarked that the facilities of the Church did not grow in exact proportion to the increase of Catholics in the United States. Crowded conditions caused some children to be turned away or to be housed in an unsatisfactory way. Since there were largely two nationalities in the Church, Irish and German, and since the former antedated the latter in America, the Germans found it difficult to place their children in orphanages. In addition to such unpleasant facts, unfounded suspicions aroused hatred on the part of the Germans, and since it was natural for recent immigrants to want their children to

³¹ Francis Roth, *History of St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum of Tacony, Philadelphia, A Memoir of Its Diamond Jubilee 1855-1933*, 13-14. For general background on Catholic Orphanages see P. A. Baart, *Orphans and Orphan Asylums*, John O. Grady, *Catholic Charities in the United States*.

In this early period Father Gallitizin had some orphans living with him. When they became of age he endowed them much the same as a father does when his children are able to lead an independent life.

³² For complete list see Madame De Barberey, *Elizabeth Seton*, appendix.

grow up cherishing the language and customs of the parents, gradually specifically German orphanages started to dot the land.

In 1836 Father Merz, a rugged pioneer priest who spent his life aiding the Germans in various parts of the world, travelled through Belgium and Germany collecting money for a national orphanage. Merz had been at Conewago, then for fifteen years he cared for the Germans in Baltimore, and in 1829 he had come to Buffalo where he opened the first church two years later. It was in the environs of Buffalo that he envisioned a large German orphanage, and he actually did open a small establishment at East Eden where he died in 1844. The orphanage was of little significance but it was often mentioned in German papers and it was referred to in a letter of Father Neumann which was published in the *Berichte*.³³

In 1841 Father Neumann wrote another letter which appeared in the *Berichte*. This letter depicted at length the lot of the orphans. Poverty, according to Neumann, forced the Germans to send their children to the factories or to the homes of the rich as hired help. Education was neglected. Even worse, parents gave their infants to well-to-do people with the understanding that they should clothe and educate them, and under such conditions Protestants lured children away from the faith. There was a time when the Irish and French children had faced a similar plight, so the bishops provided orphanages which usually were entrusted to the Sisters of Charity, but now children of those nationalities took precedence over others. Hence, parallel orphanages for German Catholics were necessary, but, according to Neumann, only Europe could finance them.³⁴

³³ *Berichte*, 13:67. *Sion* (Augsburg), 1837, 75:600-6, 608-14; 1839, 118:1166. Merz collected 5000 fr. in Europe. A letter from Rt. Rev. Msgr. Albert Rung, Buffalo, reveals that Merz had bought fifteen acres of land and erected a building. It housed a few orphans and old people. Later the building was used for a school and the land sold.

³⁴ *Berichte*, 15:59. Neumann may have thought of the redemptioners who came to America and then worked off the cost of the journey. For data on children as redemptioners see *North American Review*, July 1820, pp. 1-19.

The Redemptorists, who had dedicated themselves primarily to German parish work, were keenly aware of the needs of the orphans, and in many places they opened small orphanages in their parishes. In 1855 St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum was founded at Tacony, near Philadelphia, owing to the joint efforts of St. Peter's Church and Holy Trinity Church.³⁵ Bishop Neumann, a Redemptorist, was agreeably disposed, so ground was broken for a building on Thanksgiving Day, 1856, and it apparently opened in 1858. In March, 1859, this orphanage, located at Tacony, counted five girls and six boys. In order to help support this institution the German pastors were allowed to give the dispensation fees to the orphanage instead of to the chancery. The orphanage was a financial success for the income from 1859 to 1865 totalled \$50,471 and the expenses \$48,098.

This orphanage served as the only Catholic church in Tacony up to 1884, and up to 1908 as the only Catholic school. The parish was at first in the hands of Austrians. Father John Gmeiner, whose name appears in the baptismal register of 1858, had been born near Brixen in 1799, and in 1853 he came to America. Besides his work at the orphanage, he built a school in St. Francis parish, Trenton, New Jersey. Though he returned to Europe, he found his way back to the States where he died in 1876.³⁶ In 1860 Rev. John Tanzer, also a native of Austria, came to the orphanage where he remained less than a year.³⁷ Later St. Vincent's Orphanage, like several others,

³⁵ Roth, *op. cit.*, 19-44. Baart, *op. cit.*, 118, mentions St. Vincent's Home situated at Eighteenth and Wood Streets, Philadelphia. The house was opened in July 1855 under the auspices of Bishop Neumann. The Sisters of Charity from Emmitsburg were in charge.

³⁶ A long letter from Father Gmeiner, pastor in Trenton, appeared in the *Katholische Blätter aus Tirol*, 1856, 82-88. He spoke of the numerous sects and apostates in the United States, and, writing in a popular vein, said that "a missionary has it harder than a Frenchman at Sebastopol." He spoke highly of the Redemptorist schools, and eulogized Weninger. He also remarked that he contributed articles to the *Wahrheitsfreund*. He touched upon the new Austrian concordat and added that Catholic Americans rejoiced that the Austrian emperor was well disposed to the Church, but he probably became unduly enthusiastic when he reported that Radetzky was almost regarded like a Washington.

³⁷ From 1855-60 he had been pastor of Easton, Pa., and from 1861-91 he was at Fort Hamilton, N. Y. He died in 1895.

became the publisher of German periodicals, namely, the *Volksblatt* and *Nord Amerika*.

Roth in his history credits the Redemptorists with founding St. Joseph's Orphanage, New York, 1851; German Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum, Buffalo, 1852; St. Anthony's, Baltimore, 1852; St. Joseph's, Rochester, 1861. They also erected an orphanage, which was really an extension of St. Philomena's convent of the Notre Dame nuns, near Pittsburgh in 1851 but it burned down in 1854. While the loss exceeded the insurance by \$8,000, the thirty-five orphans were soon provided with a new home.³⁸ St. Joseph's Orphanage, mentioned above, was maintained by two New York parishes, Holy Redeemer and St. Alphonsus, while the Sisters of Notre Dame managed it. St. Alphonsus also had a house in the parish where orphans were temporarily accommodated until a home could be found for them.³⁹

Down in New Orleans a considerable number of the Catholics were German although the majority were French. In 1842 Father Czackert, C.Ss.R., went to New Orleans to collect funds for St. Philomena's Church in Pittsburgh and as a side issue worked among the Germans. Late in 1843 Czackert left the South, and the Austrian Father Kundek, of Indiana, while visiting in New Orleans for his health, built the first German church. His stay was only one of several months,⁴⁰ and for a while he was succeeded by Father Masquelet. Later the bishop asked Father Czackert to work among the Germans, and in 1847 the Redemptorists took complete charge of the German parish in New Orleans. In 1848 Czackert died of the yellow fever, but his work went on and in that same year the Redemptorists opened what was probably the first parochial school in New Orleans. Owing to the epidemic of yellow fever in 1853, the Redemptorists opened St. Joseph's German Orphan Asylum in 1854. This building was more than a makeshift for it was

³⁸ See also Byrne, *op. cit.*, 84, 102, 129, 230; Baart, *op. cit.*, 218-219. A. A. Lambing, *A History of the Catholic Church in the Dioceses of Pittsburgh and Allegheny*, 512-13.

³⁹ *Berichte*, 24:56; Byrne, *op. cit.*, 147; Baart, *op. cit.*, 96.

⁴⁰ Roger Baudier, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana*, 316-99.

built of brick and had three stories. The School Sisters of Notre Dame took charge in 1857 and by 1869 the number of orphans stood at 215.⁴¹

St. Louis, whose French population was dwarfed by the German immigration, had cared for its orphans already in the early thirties. Boys were kept in the Mullanphy Hospital, girls were cared for by the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, and later a boys' orphanage was erected next to the old cathedral.⁴² In 1849 St. Louis experienced two calamities: the cholera epidemic and the city fire. Both of these multiplied the number of sufferers, and on June 12, 1850, an appeal was made to the Germans to build an orphanage for both sexes. Father (later Bishop) Melcher, the Austrian pastor of St. Mary's Church, and Revs. Hofbauer and Seisl, both Austrian Jesuits presiding over St. Joseph's Church, and several laymen signed the appeal. An orphan society was started, in May, 1851, Bishop Kenrick dedicated its new building, and within two months the orphanage was "home" to thirty boys and girls. Father Patschowski, S.J., was the first chaplain and catechist; the Sisters of St. Joseph took care of the domestic work, and Bishop Kenrick ordered two collections annually in all the German churches of the city. The enrollment increased steadily so that additions had to be erected in 1854 and 1859. Calamities, however, were not wanting. In 1854 the cholera took a heavy toll among the inmates, in 1860 a disastrous fire broke out, and seven years later fire again swept through this monument of Austro-German generosity.⁴³

When Bishop Purcell came to Cincinnati he found an orphanage there known as St. Peter's Asylum.⁴⁴ It dated from 1829 and accommodated girls only. In order to assist it

⁴¹ *Schematismus* [German Catholic Directory] 1869. Byrne, *op. cit.*, 243; Baart, *op. cit.*, 72-73; Baudier, *op. cit.*, 399.

⁴² *Berichte*, 1:30; 11:34-35; 12:48; 14:29. John Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, 1:447-50.

⁴³ *Remembrance of the Diamond Jubilee, German St. Vincent's Orphan Society of St. Louis, Mo., 1850-1925*, 10-14.

⁴⁴ Mary Agnes McCann, *Archbishop Purcell and the Archdiocese of Cincinnati*, 17-33; John Lamott, *History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, 1821-1921*, 300-303.

financially he organized St. Peter's Benevolent Association in 1833. Mr. Mullanphy's generosity in St. Louis even overflowed to the extent of helping this struggling orphanage in Ohio. In 1835 St. Peter's housed eighty-seven children, twenty of whom were not Catholic. Writing in 1850 Father Unterthiner, an Austrian Franciscan, mentioned two orphanages with an enrollment of 280.⁴⁵ One of them was for Germans; the other for English speaking children. The German orphanage, known as St. Aloysius, dated from 1837 but it burned down in 1851 and took the lives of two of the children.⁴⁶

Bishop Henni, who had come to Milwaukee from Ohio where he had been the guiding spirit of St. Aloysius' Orphanage, lost no time in promoting the St. Amelian's Orphan Society. Since the diocese of Milwaukee had a clergy drawn largely from Austria, the success of this society is in part their accomplishment. In 1850 Henni appealed to the people to care for the orphans; a house for that purpose was provided in the city, but by 1854 the diocese had already erected a boys' orphanage at St. Francis, a village south of Milwaukee. Dr. Salzmann begged for the orphanage just as he later begged for his seminary and normal school, and all his life he had a warm spot in his heart for the homeless children.⁴⁷

While it may be difficult to trace clearly the influence of Austria on orphanages, it can easily be shown that the Austrians who read the *Berichte*, were made aware of the need and usefulness of orphanages. The very first issue mentioned the care of the orphans in the diocese of St. Louis, and Bishop Rosati often returned to the theme. In 1838 he estimated the number of pupils in his diocese at 1,200 and added:

"There are also 50 orphan boys at the hospice next to the cathe-

⁴⁵ *Berichte*, 23:70.

⁴⁶ St. Aloysius Orphan Society existed before the orphanage and was founded by Henni. *Berichte*, 25:71. Bishop Henni published the *Wahrheitsfreund* with a view to helping the orphans financially. See first issue, July 20, 1837. Lamott, *op. cit.*, claims three lost their lives in the fire. Salzbacher, *op. cit.*, 189, 196, reports that the German orphanage supported forty boys.

⁴⁷ Joseph Rainer, *Dr. Joseph Salzmann's Leben und Wirken*, 89-90.

dral, and 40 orphan girls are cared for in the convents. The older boys act as Mass servers and choir boys at the cathedral where the liturgy is solemnly and accurately carried out . . . We also entertain the hope of founding a congregation of persons who will especially concern themselves with the orphans when they are old enough to learn a trade."⁴⁸

Less fortunate bishops who had no orphanage also made the readers of the *Berichte* conscious of their distress. Thus Bishop Odin, vicar apostolic of Texas, in 1845 said he needed a hospital and an orphanage for those whom epidemics leave parentless, and this need simply could not be overlooked owing to the activity of the Protestants.⁴⁹ Bishop Chanche of Natchez admitted that he could not take care of the orphans in his diocese and that the Protestants had already secured many of them for their religion.⁵⁰ Bishop Timon in 1849 lamented that there was an orphanage in his see city of Buffalo where Catholics were accepted but where no priest could enter.⁵¹ To offset this the bishop sent the orphans of his diocese to the Sisters of Charity who reared them in their hospital at the bishop's expense. In 1851 the bishop of Chicago opened a girls' orphanage, but the debt which he incurred deterred him from opening a like one for boys.⁵²

If social welfare agencies evolved only recently in the United States, the Catholic Church fully a century ago was aware of the need of child care as a work of charity and as a means of preserving the faith, while national groups within the Church were willing to make additional sacrifices so that their children could grow up conscious of their ancestral faith and of their parental nationality.⁵³

If it is true that schools a century ago were not much more

⁴⁸ *Berichte*, 12:48.

⁴⁹ *Berichte*, 19:10.

⁵⁰ *Berichte*, 19:34.

⁵¹ *Berichte*, 22:29.

⁵² *Berichte*, 24:32; see also 25:120.

⁵³ Salzbacher, *op. cit.*, estimated that at the time of his visit to America 1500 orphans were cared for in Catholic orphanages. Of these, 500 were boys and 1,000 girls.

than a room with a teacher and pupils, it can be said with equal veracity that hospitals were only houses containing beds occupied by sick people. In fact, not until after the Civil War did America start to train nurses scientifically. At times the hospitals accommodated orphans as well as sick people, but gradually the orphans were removed and the hospitals evolved into complex and expensive organizations. During the period encompassed by this work occasional references to hospitals were made in the *Berichte*. The Mullanphy Hospital, St. Louis, was often mentioned. In 1837, for instance, it accommodated 556 patients of whom 70 died. Two years later the patients amounted to 1,000. During the yellow fever epidemic in Charleston Bishop England opened a hospital.⁵⁴ Similarly Father Kundig opened a hospital and a poor house in Detroit.⁵⁵ In 1846 a Catholic hospital was opened in Pittsburgh to the disgust of some Protestants.⁵⁶ In 1846 Bishop Quarter of Chicago spent \$5,000 on a hospital and it seems he also projected a special hospital for immigrants.⁵⁷ In 1848 the bishop of Buffalo opened a hospital which soon accommodated upwards of 1,000 a year and also answered the purposes of a poor house.⁵⁸

By way of conclusion it may be said that the Catholic Church in the period 1830 to 1860 laid the foundation for her vast system of institutions, for prior to 1830 there were very few in the entire country. This growth resulted naturally from the increase in the number of Catholics and from the zeal of their clergy. If differences of nationality caused friction, they also stimulated racial groups to greater generosity. Many of these Catholic institutions were distinctly a civic asset to the communities in which they were located, and the bishops of the Church were also interested in them as means of advertising the good features of a much maligned organization and of reclaiming those whose religion had languished owing to the

⁵⁴ *Berichte*, 12:66.

⁵⁵ *Berichte*, 12:92.

⁵⁶ *Berichte*, 20:23.

⁵⁷ *Berichte*, 25:120; 21:14.

⁵⁸ *Berichte*, 22:27; 24:10, 18; 25:30.

hard life on the frontier.⁵⁹ This argument was featured in letters to Vienna and the authors also dilated on the urgent needs of Catholic institutions. Thereby they inspired the Austrians who read the *Berichte* to increase their alms, and a portion of the alms found their way through diocesan channels to the various institutions which poverty threatened with extinction.

⁵⁹ For example, Bishop Henni, of Milwaukee, in a letter of July 23, 1848, to the Ludwig Mission Society wrote: "The new hospital with which the orphan asylum will be connected, is under the efficient management of the Sisters of Charity. This building was erected by the Protestants as an academy two years ago and was used only for a short time. Later on it was offered for sale by the proprietors and I bought it for \$3,000. This was done with an eye on its location and advantages for the Catholic population. This amount with interest must be paid within three years. This debt I took upon myself without regret on account of the influence which such a charitable institution, receiving people irrespective of their belief, will have on those not of our faith and even indifferentists. Similar institutions in St. Louis and Detroit exemplify this fact." See *Salesianum*, 1943, 38:168.

CHAPTER VII

AUSTRIAN SECULAR PRIESTS

Religious orders have a cohesion which makes it easy to identify and evaluate the work of their members in a mission field. With secular priests the problem is complicated because the individual is absorbed into the diocese where the work of a zealous individual rarely assumes a distinctive form, and a diocese rarely acquires definite characteristics. Even though the Austrian missionaries were assimilated almost tracelessly into the ranks of the diocesan clergy, this chapter will point out which dioceses received a considerable number of the immigrant clergymen and it will also give a glimpse of their background in Europe and of their activities in the United States. No attempt, however, has been made to include the names of all Austrian priests who were in America during the decades covered by this work.

Looking at the contribution of Austrian secular priests to the Church in the United States from 1830 to 1860 it appears that there existed between them strong bonds of personal friendship, of national background and of lofty ideals. From this viewpoint no character is more important than Bishop Baraga whose career began simultaneously with the founding of the Leopoldine Society. His private correspondence, his printed letters, and the speeches which he made in Europe attracted many priests, who, in turn, later solicited others in like manner to dedicate themselves to the American missions. Many of these priests came from the vicinity of Laibach¹ which was Baraga's home, and a considerable number of them worked in

¹ The city of Laibach, now called Ljubljana, is about forty miles northeast of Trieste and at present counts 60,000 inhabitants. It became an episcopal see in 1461, and in 1787 Emperor Joseph II raised it to an archdiocese. In 1807 Pope Pius VII made it a diocese depending directly on the Holy See, and in 1830 it was placed under Goerz as a suffragan see together with Trieste, Veglia, and Parenzo-Pola. The city was long a center of the Slovene national movement. At the time of the Reformation, Protestantism spread rapidly in that neighborhood. When Josephinism was rampant Bishop John Herberstein denounced monasticism and was a zealous exponent of the theory

and near Wisconsin and Michigan where Baraga tended both the Indians and the immigrants. Later, when the needs of the Church in that area grew, two other Austrians used their eloquence to recruit groups of priests, namely, Dr. Joseph Salzmänn, who worked in the diocese of Milwaukee, and Father Francis Pierz of the diocese of St. Paul. Father Melcher did similar work for the diocese of St. Louis but he appealed more to the north German dioceses than those of his native Austria. To the diocese of Pittsburgh Father Mosetizh attracted clergymen, while Father Raffeiner, the apostle of the Germans in New York, also brought with him priests to share his burdens and perpetuate his services. The appeals of such men received a cordial reception in Austria, largely because good will toward them was sustained by the publications and personnel of the Leopoldine Society.

Austria gave twelve sons to the American hierarchy, and most of them were active in the Middle West. Since Bishop Neumann, an Austrian, was appointed bishop of Philadelphia in February, 1852, he was the first to be promoted to the purple, but he was followed within a year by Baraga who became the vicar apostolic of Michigan peninsula, and in 1857 head of a fully organized diocese. Baraga was succeeded in office by Ignatius Mrak, who, in turn, was followed by John Vertin. When Green Bay, Wisconsin, became a diocese in 1868, Joseph Melcher was chosen its first bishop. Later Francis Katzer became bishop of the same diocese and in 1891 archbishop of Milwaukee. In 1913 Edward Kozłowski was appointed auxiliary bishop of Milwaukee. James Trobec was selected for St. Cloud, John Stariha for Lead, Joseph Koudelka for Superior, while Constantine Bohachevsky was the bishop of the Ukrainian

that all bishops have equal power and that the pope ought not to interfere with them. The pope disliked Herberstein as much as Joseph liked him, but when Joseph wanted to make Herberstein an archbishop the pope refused resolutely. The death of the bishop in October, 1787, solved the problem, but his successor, Archbishop Michael de Brigido, 1788-1806, entertained the same ideas as his predecessor. Bishop August Gruber, 1815-1823, was a celebrated pedagogue, and under Alois Wolf, 1824-1859, the reaction against Jansenism and Josephinism triumphed.

diocese in the United States.² Bishop Joseph Weber spent most of his life in Europe, although in 1914 he was appointed provincial of the Resurrectionists, and four years later he died in Chicago. The bare enumeration of the names of the bishops with their sees shows how Austrian interest in the American church tended for a whole century to gravitate to the Middle West, even though religious orders depending on Austria concentrated their efforts on the eastern part of the United States.

While Bishop Neumann was the first to enter the ranks of the hierarchy, he, being a Redemptorist, is not discussed here but in the following chapter with the members of the religious orders.

Bishop Baraga was born in Döbernig, Austria, in 1797, and at the age of nineteen he entered the University of Vienna to study law. As a student he came in contact with St. Clement Hofbauer and ultimately Baraga changed his mind and he decided to become a priest. He was ordained in 1823 and soon afterward he applied for admission into the diocese of Cincinnati. Baraga arrived in 1831 and, though temporarily interested in converting Whites, Résé induced him to dedicate himself to the service of the Indians. His first appointment was Arbre Croche, Michigan, now called Harbor Springs. During two years and four months he baptized 461 Indians in that place. Next he went to Grand Rapids where he arrived September 23, 1833, and his third place was La Pointe. In 1837 and in 1854 Baraga interrupted his apostolic labors to visit his native land. During the month of June, 1843, Baraga founded the mission at L'Anse where he spent ten years serving both the Indians and the immigrants who came in increasing numbers to the rapidly developing mines along Lake Superior. Owing to the increase in population in 1853 the upper peninsula of Michigan was made a vicariate apostolic with Baraga as bishop, and in 1857 it became the diocese of Sault Ste. Marie, which since 1865 has had its headquarters in Marquette, Michigan. Not long afterward Baraga departed this life on January 19, 1868. His life had been consecrated to spreading the gospel, not to

² Bishop Takach, of the diocese of Pittsburgh (Greek Rite), was born in Maramorisska Zupa, Hungary. See Joseph B. Code, *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy*, 406, 409.

rearing architectural monuments nor to founding research institutes, and hence his life must be judged by that one standard of devotion to the kingdom of God.³

Baraga's sister, Lady Antoinette von Hoeffern, spent some time with the Indians along Lake Superior. Born in 1803 she was married on May 31, 1824. Her husband died soon afterward and left her childless. In 1837 she and her priest brother left Havre for America where she planned to found a community of nuns among the Indians. Although that project failed completely, she taught school for a time, laying stress upon practical items and using utensils which she herself had made. She spent some time in Superior, but her health failed and she returned to Austria where she died in 1840.⁴

Ignatius Mrak (b. 1810), the successor of Baraga, was a native of the diocese of Laibach and an alumnus of its seminary. In 1845 he set sail from Trieste for America, and after arriving on October 1 he proceeded to Detroit where he was appointed assistant to Father Pierz, an Indian missionary also from Austria. In 1847 this large mission was divided: Father Pierz stayed in Arbre Croche while Mrak went to La Croix where he stayed until his episcopal consecration. In 1860 Mrak made a visit home endeavoring to enlist priests, but he did not succeed. Early in 1863 he became dissatisfied and decided to return to Europe, but he was induced to stay and in 1869 he became bishop. Though protesting against the dignity, he finally accepted it, and, decked in a secondhand cassock of Archbishop Purcell and a silver pectoral cross from Bishop Lefevre, he was raised to the episcopal rank. He ruled the diocese till 1878 when he resigned owing to sciatic rheumatism. Upon recovering he served as pastor, he held several chaplaincies, worked among the Indians of Grand Rapids diocese, was administrator of his former diocese in 1891 when Bishop Vertin went to Rome, and he even lived to see Father Eis become the

³ The light literature on Baraga is abundant, but all accounts rest on Chrysostomus Verwyst, *Life and Labors of Rt. Rev. Frederic Baraga*.

⁴ See Rt. Rev. Msgr. F. A. O'Brien, "Lady Antoinette von Hoeffern," *Michigan Historical Collections*, 1915, 39:221-24.

fourth bishop of Marquette. On January 2, 1901, the co-laborer of Father Pierz went to eternity.⁵

Father Pierz, whom Baraga had lured to America and whom Mrak had assisted, attained a still riper age. Born in Carniola in 1785, he too had studied in Laibach and was ordained in 1813. When he was fifty years old, in 1835, he set out for Detroit, Bishop Résé's diocese, holding a ticket which the Leopoldine Society had purchased for him. Upon arrival he began his work among the Indians in the country where Baraga had begun his career. He worked at Cross Village, and in the fall of 1836 went to Sault Ste. Marie where he opened the first parochial school, which was attended by many Canadians. In 1837 he built a church which measured about 45'x75'. He continued to visit the Sault intermittently till 1845.⁶ That same year he visited St. Joseph's Island, and so on for many years he continued to look up Indian settlements, even though his headquarters were at Arbre Croche. Pierz had acquired fame in Europe as an expert in agriculture—he even had written a book on it in 1830—and he used this information to improve the status of his Indians. In 1846 he played the role of doctor by vaccinating over 900 persons. Despite his varied tasks he found time to write a small and a large catechism in the Indian tongue. Pierz, yearning to do big things for the redskins, offered his services to Bishop Cretin of St. Paul, and in 1852 he arrived in Crow Wing. At the time St. Paul had ten priests: five for the Whites and five for the Indians. Pierz in 1857 wrote to a priest in Europe:

"I have completed my seventieth year, the Lord has preserved me well, I am still in full vigor and enjoy good health. In three years I

⁵ Antoine I. Rezek, *History of the Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie and Marquette containing a full and accurate account of the Development of the Catholic Church in Upper Michigan*, 1:216-59.

⁶ Sault Ste. Marie was visited as early as 1641 by Fathers Raymbault and Jogues. Other priests also stopped there in the seventeenth and succeeding centuries. In 1823 Father Francis Badin was there; in 1830 Résé stopped there, and Mazzuchelli made several visits, the last being in May, 1833. In 1834 Haetscher built a chapel which was soon desecrated and destroyed by two of his enemies. In 1834 Bishop Résé confirmed over 100 at the Sault. In 1835 Baraga stopped there, and in the forepart of 1836 Rev. Jean B. Proulx was there. Rezek, *op. cit.*, 2:44-47.

have established ten missions, and built as many churches; two Indian, two French and six larger ones for the Germans."⁷

In 1864 Pierz unexpectedly appeared in Europe in search of priests, and although he procured only one priest, Father Joseph Buh, he enlisted fifteen students. Of these, four did not continue to the altar, but the remaining eleven were a credit to the church. In fact, one was Archbishop Katzer of Milwaukee and another was Bishop Trobec of St. Cloud.⁸ That the diocese of St. Paul was short of priests appears definitely from the fact that in 1866 the diocese had 111 mission stations but only twenty priests. Pierz not only tried to augment the number of priests in Minnesota, he also sought to increase the population. In his work of 130 pages entitled, *Die Indianer in Nord Amerika*, published by the firm of F. Saler,⁹ St. Louis, in 1855, he stressed the desirability of settling in Minnesota. Besides this he also wrote letters to the *Wahrheitsfreund*, urging Catholics of German ancestry not to worry about the Indians but to come to the West. As for Forty-eighters and similar characters, they were exhorted to remain far away. It was owing to Pierz' campaign that Stearns county in Minnesota became largely German and Catholic. Not the least of his accomplishments was the bringing of the Benedictines up the Mississippi in 1856 to St. Cloud, a place that has become a Catholic center and the see city of a bishop.¹⁰

Father Pierz stayed in the diocese of St. Paul until 1873

⁷ Rezek, *op. cit.*, 353. Pierz wrote in the same letter that he gave the Benedictines the German parishes and that he would keep the Indian parishes for himself.

⁸ The others were Zuzek, Berghold, Plut, Tomasin, Tomazevic, Spath, Stern, Erlach, Pauletic. See John Seliskar, "The Reverend Francis Pirec, Indian Missionary," *Acta et Dicta*, 1911, 3:85.

⁹ F. Saler, being an Austrian, deserves passing notice. He was born in Vorarlberg in 1808, in 1834 he came to the United States, and in 1837 he arrived in St. Louis where he started in business as a contractor. In 1849 he went into the book business and also undertook publishing. In 1855 he founded *Der hinkende Bote am Mississippi* which enjoyed considerable vogue, and in 1866 he began to publish the *Pastoral-Blatt*. He amassed a fortune but by the time of his death in 1893, it had disappeared. See F. G. Holweck, "Papa Saler," *Pastoral-Blatt*, 1917, 51:52-55.

¹⁰ *Wahrheitsfreund*, May 10, June 8, 1854, Jan. 29, 1857, Apr. 9, 16, 1862. A glance at the map reveals many communities in Stearns county named after saints. The village of Pierz is not in Stearns county, but near to it.

when, old and feeble, he returned home. The Austrian government allowed the penniless apostle the usual stipend of old priests, and in 1880, at the age of 95, he died in Laibach. Though he spent his last years in Europe, in a way he remained in America for his memory failed him to such an extent that he often asked a cab driver to take him to some place which existed only in America. After a short ride the missionary would return to his quarters unaware of the deceit.¹¹

Associated with Father Pierz for slightly more than a year was Laurence Lautischar. Born in 1820, he also studied in Laibach, and, after serving in the ministry nine years, he heeded a call for priests that Bishop Baraga made after his consecration. Arriving in America in 1854 and after working at Sault Ste. Marie, La Croix, and Arbre Croche, Lautischar went to the diocese of St. Paul in 1857 to assist Pierz. Besides doing the routine work of an Indian missionary, he found time to do some writing in Slovenian. He translated a life of Elizabeth Seton which in 1860 was printed in *Zgodnja Danica*, an Austrian periodical, and he also wrote a work on the Indian missions which some think was a translation of Shea's work on that subject. In December of 1858, on the Feast of St. Francis Xavier, Lautischar froze to death on Red Lake while returning from a missionary trip.¹²

In 1855 Father Cebul finished his studies in Laibach and was ordained. As a seminarian he had known Baraga and in 1859 he decided to heed his invitation to come to America. He built the church at Bayfield, Wisconsin, worked in Superior and Duluth as well as among the Indians. His sphere of endeavor reached as far south as Keshena, near Green Bay, Wisconsin. In 1872 the *Wanderlust* seized him and took him to

¹¹ See Seliskar, *art. cit.*; also Rezek, *op. cit.*, 1:344-59; Verwyst, *op. cit.*, 379-93; Hugo Bren, "Letters of Father Franz Pierz Pioneer Missionary," *Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, 1934-35, 26-27:357-59, and almost every succeeding issue during 1935. Here are printed many of his letters up to 1840, some of them being translations from the Slovenian. F. G. Holweck, "Vater Franz Pierz," *Pastoral-Blatt*, 1920, 54:145-53.

¹² J. L. Zaplotnik, "Rev. Lawrence Lautischar in Minnesota," *Acta et Dicta*, 1934, 6:258-87. This is the most complete biography available. With it are published some of his letters.

India via Europe. While in India he did some missionary work, but in 1878 he took a country parish in the diocese of Versailles, France. In 1882 he came back to Marquette diocese where he died in 1898. As a linguist he was a phenomenon, but he did not develop any of his talents systematically.¹³ His physical strength was equally unusual. He could walk from 60 to 70 miles a day without difficulty, and on one occasion he went from Bayfield to St. Paul on snow shoes, thence to Milwaukee and back to Bayfield.

Belonging to an earlier period is Father Andreas Vizoczky (b. 1796), a Hungarian who made his theological studies in Vienna. Ordained for the diocese of Zips in 1821 he worked there for about ten years. In 1831 or 1832 he set out for the diocese of Cincinnati. Upon arriving in New York he stayed with the German pastor, Father Raffeiner, for two weeks, and then he seems to have joined the diocese of Detroit. In a letter of March 28, 1834, from station Saint Clair on Lake Huron he described his work among Frenchmen whom the frontier had degenerated. In December of 1834 a theologian came there to teach the English language to the children. Not long afterward Vizoczky went to Grand Rapids where Father Baraga had been for sixteen months. During that time misunderstandings had arisen between Baraga and Mr. Campau, a fur trader, and under Vizoczky conditions did not improve. The parish sank deeply into debt, and foreclosure impended. As a matter of fact, the church was sold once but the court annulled the action. In 1833 the population of Grand Rapids was 100; in 1834 it was 800, but by 1835 it had sunk to sixty families. Nevertheless the population increased again, and in a letter of 1844 Vizoczky described his parish as comprising Indians, Frenchmen, and Germans. It was hard to render the first sedentary, the second did not go to church and were addicted to vice, the Germans, who were very poor, imitated what they saw, and, in addition to all this, the Protestants were promoting hostilities. In 1837 Campau built a church, but

¹³ Rezek, *op. cit.*, 383-89; F. G. Holweek, "Vater Johann Cebul," *Pastoral-Blatt*, 1921, 55:33-36. With Cebul came Father Andolschek, an Austrian. All that is known of him is that he was born in Carniola in 1827 and died at Eagle Harbor in 1882. Rezek, *op. cit.*, 1:341.

since he would not give the deed to the bishop, Father Viszoczky used the church only for a short time, and later it was sold to the Congregationalists.

In the early thirties the government granted the mission sixty acres of land. In 1847 the bishop sold it for \$4,000, and as a result the pastor could lay the cornerstone of a permanent church in June, 1849. That following year, just when the parish was getting a permanent home, fire destroyed the rectory and damaged the unfinished church. In the fire the aged mother and the sister of Father Kilroy, a priest who lived with the pastor, lost their lives. The new church, dedicated to St. Andrew, was blessed on August 11, 1850, but in 1856-57 the Germans decided to separate and thus was born St. Mary's congregation. Father Viszoczky died in 1853, and one historian has given him the following tribute:

"In 1834 Father Viszoczky came to Grand Rapids, a man who stands forth unsurpassed in his zeal for God's honor and in the propagation of His holy church. No weather was too inclement for him, no road too rough, no exertion and no sacrifice was too great when there was question of fulfilling priestly duties, of bringing the sick comfort, improvement and help, and of bringing the dying the final solace of their holy religion. Many of our old pioneers still remember the worthy priest for whom after hard work a piece of bread, a piece of cheese and a dry herring were a delicacy. Father Viszoczky spoke English, French, German, Ottawa and Chippewa, and he was dearly loved by all regardless of nationality or creed."¹⁴

If Austrian secular priests and future bishops distinguished themselves in their apostolic work among the neglected Indians they also manifested a deep interest in the adventurous Germans who sought their fortune close to the frontier. The greatest apostle of the Germans was John Stephen Raffener (1785-1861). Born in Tirol, to wealthy parents, he studied in Innsbruck and Rome. At first he studied theology, but, with the coming of the Napoleonic upheaval, he decided to become

¹⁴ *Geschichte der St. Marien Gemeinde in Grand Rapids, Mich.*, 1-10; Rezek, *op. cit.*, 63-64, claims Viszoczky left Europe May 12, 1833. Some give the year of his death as 1852. Many references are made to him in local histories, e. g., Albert Baxter, *History of the City of Grand Rapids, Michigan*, Munsell and Co., New York and Grand Rapids, 1891.

a doctor. As a physician he was in charge of a military hospital in Milan, and, while serving in that capacity, he again decided to become a priest. He was ordained May 1, 1825, and after serving in the diocese of Brixen, he volunteered to devote his life to the Germans in America. His bishop not only agreed, but financed the trip, and in February, 1833, Raffener, 48 years old, arrived in New York.

Father Raffener had embarked with the idea of going to Cincinnati, but upon landing in New York he found the pastor sick, so the priest-physician set about curing the pastor, who had decided to leave America and was not to be dissuaded. The Bishop of New York then prevailed upon Raffener to postpone going to Cincinnati and to stay in New York and organize the Germans into a regular parish and to do the same for the Germans in all parts of his diocese. The status of the diocese is reflected in the fact that it counted only thirty-five priests in 1836.¹⁵ For a while he held services in a carpenter shop, but later he rented a church from the Anabaptists for \$80 a year, and began travelling far and wide. By September 13, 1833, he could report to his former bishop that the diocese of New York had 60,000 Germans. The alternate care of the city and the diocese was burdensome and Raffener wished for another priest, but he estimated that to finance him at least 600 florins from abroad would be needed every year for a time. Soon the Anabaptists, seeing the flourishing condition of the German parish, refused to continue renting their church, and, accordingly, Bishop Dubois of New York bought a vacant church for \$12,000. This was not a complete gift because the bishop stipulated that the parish raise at least \$2,000.

In 1835 Raffener began to build St. Nicholas church in New York, and it was opened Easter Sunday, 1836. The

¹⁵ *Berichte*, 5:34; 7:36-38. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s. v. Raffener. F. G. Holweck, "Very Rev. J. S. Raffener, V.G.," *Pastoral-Blatt*, 1925, 59:49-54. John A. Berger, *Life of Rt. Rev. John N. Neumann, D.D., of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, Fourth Bishop of Philadelphia*, 227, claims that Raffener and Brother Joseph Reisach both intended to become Redemptorists and had been received in Vienna as candidates for the American missions. Although Raffener stayed in New York, Reisach arrived in Green Bay July 14, 1833. Byrne, *op. cit.*, 59, says Reisach went back to Vienna with Father Haetscher in 1837. Reisach returned in 1847 and died in Baltimore in 1862.

pastor, however, continued to live with the bishop. That same year, 1836, when the student John Neumann arrived, he met Raffeiner in the bishop's house. Neumann received the major orders and read his first Mass in St. Nicholas church. Father Raffeiner preached the festive sermon and the neo-presbyter gave First Holy Communion to thirty children whom he himself had instructed. On June 28 Neumann went by boat via Albany to Rochester and Buffalo to care for the Germans in Western New York, a region well known to Raffeiner, for he was the first German priest to officiate in Utica, Rochester, and Albany.¹⁶

The following chapter touches briefly on Raffeiner's activity in Boston, but that was not his only mission outside of New York state. In 1840 he wrote to the archbishop of Vienna about his visits to Makapan in a hilly region of northern New Jersey. In 1747 three Catholic families had settled there to enjoy freedom of conscience after they had been lured to America by a British firm. The family names were Schuster, Marion, and Stobel; the first came from the Black Forest, the latter two from the neighborhood of Mainz. Learning that priests lived in Maryland they travelled 300 miles to secure their services. Father Farmer ministered to them, but after his death as many as twenty-five years passed without a priest coming to Makapan. In 1839 Raffeiner visited there but sheer hunger forced him to leave, so when he returned in 1840 he provided his own victuals.¹⁷

That same year Raffeiner built and completed St. John the Baptist church in New York City. It is no wonder that by this time Father Raffeiner had made so good an impression on Coadjutor Bishop Hughes, that he appointed him vicar general of the Germans on November 9, 1841. Though Raffeiner himself at times had trustee troubles he knew how to help others in that same predicament. At least once he assisted Father

¹⁶ *Berichte*, 10:53-55. Holweck, *art. cit.*, remarks that Father Balleis was Raffeiner's assistant for seven years. He also observes that Raffeiner did not get along well with Redemptorists in America.

¹⁷ *Berichte*, 14:60-64. J. R. Bayley, *A Brief Sketch of the Early History of the Catholic Church on the Island of New York*, 121, puts forth the opinion that Stobel was not Catholic but that most of his descendents were converts.

Leviz in such a difficulty, and, since he also allotted money that came from Vienna, Raffener was able to help the German clergy in a tangible way. The same year that Raffener became vicar general he went to Williamsburg, Long Island, where out of his own money he bought a site for a church for the Germans. At the time of his death in 1861 this parish counted over 1,000 families and 1,000 children. In 1848, when Father Weninger came to New York, he, like Father Neumann, started his American career in Raffener's church.¹⁸

In 1853 some people expected Father Raffener to become bishop of Brooklyn, but such was not the will of the powers that were. Brooklyn had been well served by Raffener. In 1841 he personally bought land for Holy Trinity church which was primarily for Germans and nine years later he again opened his pocketbook and built St. Francis in the Fields, which was an exclusively German parish in Brooklyn. He also began a preparatory seminary for Germans, but this lasted only two years. He who had been the apostle of the Germans throughout New York, and the organizer of at least thirty parishes, died in 1861 and was buried in Holy Trinity church where he so long had been active. Father Raffener was a man of means and as such was disliked by some people, but while he lived frugally he used his money generously when noble causes presented themselves.¹⁹

A nephew of the vicar general, Father Joseph Raffener, also of Tirol, had been ordained in 1841, and in 1848 he came to America. He worked in Buffalo, Syracuse, and Rome, N. Y.,

¹⁸ *Berichte*, 19:65; 20:32; 22:73; Patrick Mulrenan, *A Brief Historical Sketch of the Catholic Church on Long Island*, 16-18.

Rev. Joseph Schneller (1796-1860), who worked at Albany and Brooklyn and also edited the *Catholic Register*, was a Tiroler by birth. He came to the United States in 1812, but he forgot almost all his German. See Salzbacher, *op. cit.*, 276; *Letters of Rev. Adelbert Inama*, 19 n. 27; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2:800; 10:780.

¹⁹ Baart, *op. cit.*, 185, mentions a parish orphanage attached to Holy Trinity parish which was cared for by Dominican Sisters.

Social Justice Review, 1943, 36:169, quotes one sentence of weight about Holy Trinity Parish: "Initiated by Father Raffener and by his successor were a parish cemetery, an orphan home, a hospital, numerous parochial societies, and, as a direct off-shoot of the hospital, St. Catharine's Infirmary in North Amityville, now known as Our Lady of Consolation Home for the Aged."

See also *Catholic Encyclopedia*, s. v. Brooklyn.

but already before his uncle was dead the younger Raffener was back in Tirol where he died in 1872.

The diocese of Pittsburgh provided a vicar general for the Germans in the person of Father John Moseitzh. In 1845 Father Lemcke, a convert and successor of Father Gallitzin in Loretto, went to Europe to enlist priests for his bishop, Michael O'Connor of Pittsburgh. That March he accepted as a missionary the professor of Old Testament exegesis in the seminary at Goerz, a post which Father Moseitzh had held for seventeen years. In 1845 Moseitzh had travelled through the Holy Land to make a report on religious affairs to the General Commissariat of the Holy Land in Vienna, and on August 17, 1847, he left Goerz for Havre. After a sea voyage of thirty-six days he arrived in New York on October 21. Thence he went to Pittsburgh to meet his bishop, but since he was on a visitation journey the Redemptorists gave him temporary lodging. When the bishop returned, Moseitzh went to see him, and the conversation, carried on in Italian, led to the conclusion that Moseitzh should live with the bishop and teach in the new seminary so that the bishop himself would not have to teach. Accordingly he taught dogma and moral four hours a day besides Scripture four times a week. The cathedral was four miles from the seminary in Birmingham and the seminary—a second attempt—was only a farmhouse sheltering seven theologians and seven philosophers taught by Moseitzh and an Irish priest.²⁰ Since 1872 Birmingham has been a part of Pittsburgh and is called "the South Side." Similarly, what is to-day called "the North Side" was known as Allegheny in the time of Father Moseitzh.

In January, 1848, the bishop of Pittsburgh wrote to Vienna that St. Philomena's church of the Redemptorists was flourishing and productive of much good, but it was necessary to establish two new churches: one in Allegheny Town, another in Birmingham. Father Moseitzh had been active in Birmingham and the bishop was of the opinion that he would soon build a church. In Allegheny a church was more urgently

²⁰ *Berichte*, 19:13; 20:17-28. Morris, *op. cit.*, 13-14, gives 1846 as the date of Moseitzh's arrival.

needed, but in the absence of a priest, nothing could be undertaken. The seminary professor also attended the parish in Erie for a time, and when it was necessary to enlarge the church building Father Mosetizh was charged with the task. It seems that he also had to deal with a building program at Meadville, a mission of the Erie parish. While absent on mission work, the bishop substituted for the professor in the seminary. Toward the end of 1849 the bishop sent him to Europe to get German priests for the diocese. After visiting several dioceses in Germany he came to Austria in the beginning of 1850 where he received Father G. Gostencnik, diocese of Lavant, and Fathers J. Schaffleitner and L. Garsdorf, diocese of Linz, and he expected others to follow. A footnote in the *Berichte* says of his return to America that he was accompanied by three secular priests and one Carmelite for Pittsburgh, three Tirolese Franciscans for the diocese of Nashville (of whom Father Gaertner died almost upon arrival in Cincinnati), one Bavarian theologian for Chicago, Leo Susan from Linz who went to Milwaukee, and Father Stibiel, a native of Austria (near Trieste) who went to St. Mary's church, Allegheny, as Mosetizh's successor. It cost 3,000 florins for these men to come to America and the bill was paid by the Leopoldine Society.²¹ The Carmelite mentioned above was Joseph Gezowski. He is mentioned *infra* in connection with the diocese of Cleveland. He had been born in 1811 in Koeniggraetz, and in 1859 he was appointed pastor of St. Joseph's, New York. Father Gostencnik, whose name also appears in typical Austrian spelling as Gostenschnigg, was assistant to Father Mosetizh for a time. He is said to have been a very spiritual man, but despite all, he could not manage the self-asserting German farmers over whom he ruled. He died at Milton, Pennsylvania, in 1861.

Saint Michael's parish, Birmingham, officially dates from 1848, and St. Mary's, Allegheny, also dates from 1848 when Father Mosetizh bought a building site for \$6,000 and built a temporary church. On the 6th of October, 1850, Father Stibiel, who had accompanied Father Mosetizh to the mission

²¹ *Berichte*, 22:13-20; 24:59-60.

field, took charge of the parish which was encumbered with a debt of \$6,500. Though the city had a population of 22,000, the church was dilapidated, there was no rectory, and the school consisted of a small wooden house. In 1852 Stibiel built a combination school and rectory but the debt increased only by \$1,000. Besides having a respectable dwelling place, he had a school for 140 pupils taught by two teachers. In the summer of 1852 he was building a church, 68' x 142', at a cost of \$14,000, and, like many others, the pastor turned to Vienna for help.²² Later in life Father Stibiel distinguished himself by his interest in the orphans of Pittsburgh.

It was around this time that Father Mosetizh's health failed and in 1851 or soon thereafter he returned to the diocese of Goerz, after having served the Germans in America for about five years.²³

Ohio, the first state carved out of the region governed by the Northwest Ordinance, was admitted to statehood in 1803, and in 1821 the diocese of Cincinnati was organized, even though the see city numbered but ten or twelve Catholic families. In 1820 Bishop Fenwick estimated the Catholic population of Ohio at 3,000. Being on the main route of the immigrant trek, the Church enjoyed a mushroom growth. Father Résé, the vicar general of the diocese, had been the prime mover in founding the Leopoldine Society and hence Cincinnati was its prime beneficiary during the first years of the society's operation. Up to 1885 Austrian Catholics contributed about \$50,000, but the largest donations came during the early and critical years. The early contributions to the diocese of Cincinnati were as follows:

1830 April	22,220 florins (\$10,256)
1830 August	12,200 florins
1830 December	15,580 florins
1831	7,000 florins
1832	15,000 florins

Besides this, valuable donations in kind arrived. In 1831 the society sent to Cincinnati three sets of vestments, ten stoles,

²² *Berichte*, 24:65; 25:61 sq. A. A. Lambing, *A History of the Catholic Church in the Dioceses of Pittsburgh and Allegheny*, 165-68.

²³ *Berichte*, 24:59 n.

six altar linens, six cushions, three albs, two surplices, six corporals, twenty-seven purificators, three burses, 3,000 rosaries and crosses, oil paintings, engravings, and other items. The following year a shipment arrived containing a silver oil stock, a ciborium, a vestment, two albs, 3,500 pictures, twenty-six oil paintings, a silver chalice, an abundance of linen, over 1,200 rosaries and crucifixes, 224 prayerbooks, statues, and other objects of piety.²⁴

Father Résé, while in Europe, also made arrangements for the legacy of a Vienna priest, Rev. John Jeoffroy, amounting to about \$2,900. This sum was to help educate priests for the diocese of Cincinnati. In 1832 another arrangement was made involving about \$2,500, the interest of which was to help Christianize the Indians. When Detroit became a diocese a problem of distributing the first burse arose, and, besides, after 1847 payments had become sporadic. In 1873 two Jeoffroy burses were established at the Propaganda College in Rome as final settlement of the obligations which had devolved on the Propaganda as administrator. One of the burses belongs to Cincinnati, while the other belongs to those dioceses which were formed out of the mother diocese. The interest of the legacy for the Indians was paid regularly and applied to the Indians living within the diocese of Cincinnati itself or in any area that belonged to that diocese in its original form.²⁵

While the Ludwig Mission Society of Munich, dating from 1838, gave little to Cincinnati, probably because it was no longer in dire need, the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in France had been very generous before the Vienna society had been born. The early record is as follows:

1823	8,000 francs (\$1,600)
1824	12,540 francs
1825	17,600 francs
1826	9,500 francs
1827	27,600 francs
1828	20,000 francs

²⁴ John H. Lamott, *History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati 1821-1921*, 184-86.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 186-87.

1829	8,610 francs
1830	13,925 francs
1831	5,600 francs
1832	5,600 francs
1833	
1834	5,610 francs
1835	17,150 francs
1836	23,620 francs
1837	18,000 francs
1838	20,727 francs
1839	39,827 francs
1840	45,200 francs

Up to 1869 the society had contributed a total of 602,846 francs, which sum equaled about \$120,000.²⁶

Prior to 1860 a few Austrian secular priests worked in Ohio. These include F. X. Obermueller, who is discussed in connection with the archdiocese of Milwaukee, and also the Hungarian Aloysius Hatala. While some were late arrivals, Father Clement Hammer had come in 1840, Father Cajetan Zoppoth in 1848, and Father Francis Pabisch came in 1851. The latter served as president of Mount St. Mary's Seminary and in collaboration with Rev. Thomas Byrne he translated Alzog's voluminous *Church History*. Fathers Francis Karel came in 1858, Anthony Berman in 1859, and Anthony Hechinger in the same year.²⁷

The diocese of Cleveland was served by several Austrians. Father Anthony Krasney had participated in the Czech revolution of 1848, and as a result he was in an Austrian jail from 1849 to 1857. In the year of his release he came to America and the following year he joined the diocese of Cleveland where he stayed till his death in 1870. Father Joseph Gezowski, who was ordained in 1838, came to the United States in 1850 and served the Cleveland diocese from 1854 to 1855, when he realigned with the Carmelites. Father Wenceslaus Revis who had come to America in 1852 served a large area including the dioceses of Philadelphia, Alton, and Nashville. During the Civil War he returned home, but came back to the

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 174.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, alphabetical list of clergy, 355-68.

States and died in 1886 in Chicago. Father John Hackspiel of Tirol came to the United States in 1857 and went directly to Cleveland but soon left to join the Society of Jesus.²⁸

St. Louis, whose early history is cast in a French mould, evolved into a German metropolis. Father Joseph Lutz, a Badenser, arrived as early as 1826, in 1828 he attempted to convert the Kansas Indians, and on January 24, 1834, he preached the first German sermon in St. Louis to his compatriots who had assembled near the cathedral in a chapel which had been blessed in 1832 and used for Negroes.²⁹ The cathedral parish was using two languages, French and English, so many hesitated about introducing a third, but the number of Germans grew so rapidly that by 1843 there were two German priests at the cathedral who every Sunday offered Mass and preached a German sermon at 8 o'clock. Bishop Rosati often wrote to the Leopoldine Society and he received about \$17,600, but only under Kenrick, his successor, did the Germans receive separate churches. Our Lady of Victory was opened in 1844, and St. Joseph's, the Jesuit church, dates from about the same time. Naturally some Germans also attended other churches and in some instances, such as at St. Vincent's, they also received attention in their own language. Eventually the Germans formed so large a group that the bishop appointed Father Joseph Melcher as their vicar general.³⁰

Born in Vienna in 1807, in his seventh year Melcher moved to Modena with his parents. In 1830 he was ordained, and for twelve years he was chaplain of the court of Modena with the obligation of caring for the Germans of the city. Desiring to go to the missions, he obtained permission to leave his diocese, and, having met Bishop Rosati in Europe, he set sail for St. Louis in 1843. Bishop Kenrick in 1846 took him to the sixth provincial council of Baltimore as his theologian. Returning from the council the bishop made Melcher a vicar general and

²⁸ George Houck, *The Church in Northern Ohio and in the Diocese of Cleveland 1749-1890*, alphabetical list, 84-203.

²⁹ John Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, 1:452-68, 534.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1:817-24.

sent him to Europe to secure German priests. The fruit of his trip was four priests and twelve students of theology. One of the priests, Cajetan Zapotti, came from the diocese of Linz, Austria. Only seven of the twelve students were ordained. One of these, Louis Rossi, came from the diocese of Modena, while Francis Trojan emanated from Moravia. The former, who was ordained in 1848, drowned in 1853 while on a sick call; the latter left the diocese for Chester, Illinois.³¹

During the cholera epidemic of 1849, Melcher promoted the project of a German orphan home, and that same year went to Europe to seek more priests. Since most Germans in St. Louis were North Germans, Melcher appealed to the diocese of Paderborn. His plea fell on friendly ears and among those to come to America was Christopher Wapelhorst, later a professor at St. Francis Seminary and the author of *Compendium Sacrae Liturgiae*. During the Civil War, in 1864, Father Melcher made a third voyage in search of priests. Owing to the troubled times he and his disciples came back via New York, Canada, Detroit, and Milwaukee. The theologians stayed in the last place to complete their studies in St. Francis Seminary.

In 1854 Melcher came close to receiving the golden staff of the Church in Quincy, and in 1868 the mitre settled upon his brow as the first bishop of Green Bay, Wisconsin.

While few Austrian priests served in the diocese of St. Louis, the career of Father Lipowski is conspicuous as a curiosity. Born in 1818 at Stetkovic, he entered the Society of Jesus in Gratz and made his novitiate in Salzburg. In 1846 he asked to leave the order to become a lieutenant in the Austrian army. After participating in the battles of Mentana and Novara, he went to America where his former ideals revived and he was ordained a secular priest in 1853. Lipowski was sent to Father Melcher as his assistant, and, since he was a German scholar, he was made editor of the Catholic weekly, *Herold des Glaubens*, which Father Seisl, S.J., had founded. Lipowski also took care of the Bohemians, who in 1854 had erected the first Bohemian church in the United States under the title of

³¹ *Ibid.*, 2:6-15.

St. John Nepomuc. Collecting money did not interest the soldier-priest, and, since his ways estranged many, he returned to his native land in 1856. From 1856 to 1864 Father Trojan, mentioned previously, was his successor. Europe did not long appeal to Father Lipowski so he returned to the United States where he worked under Bishop Neumann in Philadelphia. In 1860 he went to Rome and offered his services to Pope Pius IX who sent him to England, but in 1862 the adventurer went to China. Unable to stand the climate, he went back to Bohemia, then to England, and he also revisited St. Louis. Lipowski died in Prague on August 6, 1894.³²

To the east of the diocese of St. Louis lay the diocese of Vincennes. In October, 1837, Bishop Bruté was worrying because a new missionary had not yet arrived. Had he changed his mind? Time wore on and in 1838 Father Kundek arrived after a trip of five months from the diocese of Agram (today Zagreb), to begin a career in America which lasted till his death in 1857. It is said that one day, while visiting in Vienna, he came across a number of the *Berichte*. Much edified, he told his companions, "I can do the same as these missionaries," and forthwith he arranged to go to America. Shortly after his arrival he was installed as pastor of Jasper, Indiana. In 1834 only two or three Catholics lived there, but by 1838 there were fifteen families. Immediately upon arrival Kundek began buying land with a view to organizing a colony of Catholics. Being near to Picquet's colony in southeastern Illinois he probably imitated that, and Kundek also entered into financial relations with Picquet. Success smiled upon Kundek's project for in 1839 forty-nine families had responded to his advertising. Besides developing his colony, in July of the aforesaid year he made a circuit trip of 700 miles including Picquet's colony and the city of Chicago. Under date of December 10, 1839, Kundek wrote to Vienna that he had about ninety families, mostly German, in his parish, and on December 8, 1841, a new church 100' x 54', was solemnly blessed by the bishop. In 1842 he opened a school in which nuns imparted both primary and

³² *Ibid.*, 2:192-93. F. G. Holweck, "Vater Heinrich Lipowski," *Pastoral-Blatt*, 1918, 52:163-64.

secondary education, but owing to lack of support the stay of the nuns was not continuous.³³

Meanwhile Kundek took great interest in civic affairs. In 1840 he was urged to represent Dubois county in the state legislature, but he declined. In 1839 the courthouse burned down, and, since the new building apparently would never be completed, he volunteered to take over the contractor's job. His offer was accepted, and within a year the courthouse was finished. From 1853 to 1857 he served as a member of the board of examiners for the certification of teachers. While Father Kundek was dubbed "the Duke of Jasper" and though he may have enjoyed seeing his gaudy guards parade, his life was one of valuable service to his community. Incidentally, many of the older German parishes had among their numerous societies some organization or other with a mildly military flavor. The members had flashy uniforms, they marched in formation, and in some cases participated in the liturgy by occupying a place near the altar and by rolling the drums at the more solemn moments of the Mass. Naturally at outdoor functions, such as Corpus Christi processions, their role was proportionately more colorful.

Besides developing the parish in Jasper, Kundek founded the town and the parish at Celestine, Indiana, he helped organize the German parish in New Orleans, in 1847 he established a German parish at Fulda, and he built St. Pius church at Troy, Indiana. In Celestine, a settlement begun in November, 1843, and named after the bishop of Vincennes, Celestine de la Haillandière, Kundek again tried to concentrate Catholics and finance the church by the sale of lots. This he had also done at Ferdinand, a colony which Kundek named after the Emperor Ferdinand of Austria, who was ruling when it was organized in 1840. Though these colonies enjoyed a fair growth, lack of priests and funds caused Kundek to look to a religious order for help. It was useless to look to the Redemptorists for they had had illuminating experience with St. Mary's in Pennsylvania and with Picquet's establishment, so he turned to the

³³ *Berichte*, 12:34; 13:20; 15:53; 16:55; 14:67; 18:39; 24:76-81. Mary Kelly, *Catholic Immigrant Colonization Projects in the United States 1815-1860*, 63-75. F. G. Holweck, "Rev. Joseph Kundek," *Pastoral-Blatt*, 1921, 55:145-54.

Benedictines of Einsiedeln who were willing to use his work as a foundation for their efforts which were to radiate from St. Meinrad's Abbey.³⁴

While it may appear that Father Kundek had a virgin field to cultivate, the opposite is true. In 1818 the Presbyterians had held services in Dubois county, in 1832 a class of Methodists was organized, and in 1838 the Baptists had conducted services.³⁵ In general, it cannot be repeated too often that in the early nineteenth century Protestant denominations were mission minded and their missionaries were seethingly active on the American frontier and offered keen competition to the Catholic missionaries.

Forty miles west of St. Meinrad, situated on the Ohio River, is the city of Evansville, Indiana. This place, too, felt the influence of Father Kundek's zeal for its first permanent pastor, Father Francis X. Kutassy, was induced to emigrate by Father Kundek. Father Kutassy, a Hungarian by birth, was chaplain to a noble family, then for five years he was a chaplain in Radetsky's army, and after that he served as a pastor in his homeland. Kundek urged him to leave, and in 1848 Kutassy docked in America. It was Kundek's plan to have him take over the parish at Celestine, but he preferred to establish Holy Trinity church at Evansville. On Trinity Sunday 1849 the cornerstone was laid, work progressed rapidly, and on Pentecost 1851 an impressive church was blessed. The following March the Austrian missionary, Father Weninger, gave one of his many missions in the new parish church. Death came to the Hungarian priest in 1874, two weeks after observing his golden jubilee.³⁶

The diocese of Milwaukee, which had been created in 1843, attracted many Austrian priests. This was due to the fact that Wisconsin had been well advertised abroad. Secondly, the

³⁴ Peter Behrman, "The Story of St. Meinrad Abbey," *The Grail*, 1929, 10:487-522. Kelly, *op. cit.*, 74. For Kundek's activity in New Orleans see Roger Baudier, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana*, 369; George Wilson, *History of Dubois County from its Primitive Days to 1910*, 198-201. The town of Leopold, which is near Jasper, was founded by Father Bessonies and named in honor of the king of the Belgians.

³⁵ Wilson, *op. cit.*, 207-11.

³⁶ H. Alerding, *A History of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of Vincennes*, 277-80.

bishop of the diocese, John Henni, was a Swiss-German, and he was well known in Europe not only because of his travels but also because he had founded the *Wahrheitsfreund*, and had written *Ein Blick ins Thal des Ohio*.

It was in 1845 that Father Caspar Rehrl had come to the diocese of Milwaukee, and two years later Dr. Joseph Salzmann arrived.³⁷ Pious influences must have been at work in Rehrl because he had Father Weninger as a confessor and he also made a visit to the stigmatist of Kaltern, Maria Moerl, who was highly respected in Alpine Austria. Salzmann, who soon followed Rehrl, had been ordained in 1842 by the famous lover of the missions, Bishop Gregory Ziegler. As a young priest Salzmann was interested in the Leopoldine Society, and he became acquainted with the Capuchin, Father Bermadinger, in Gmunden who corresponded with Rehrl in America. Father Wisbauer, who came to America with Salzmann, also knew Bermadinger and from him learned of Salzmann's plans. The latter, expecting to encounter many hardships, collected 7,000 gulden in cash, a hundred vestments, and a supply of altar linens preparatory to leaving. He also had gathered as companion missionaries Fathers Urbanek, Wisbauer, Bermadinger, and the theologians Fusseder and Gernbauer. All were Austrians and all were bound for Milwaukee.³⁸

Soon after their arrival Bishop Henni assigned Bermadinger to Calumet, as assistant to Rehrl; Urbanek to Fussville; Wisbauer to Burlington, and Salzmann to Germantown. In Germantown the last named immediately started a school, and he continued the education of the two theologians plus Peter Deberge, a German, who arrived in 1848. All three were ordained. In 1858 Father Urbanek's life ended in a fatal accident on a Mississippi River steamer, while Father Wisbauer remained as pastor in Burlington till his death in 1889.³⁹

³⁷ Peter Leo Johnson, "Documents," *Salesianum*, 1937, 32:136-37. Rehrl was born in a suburb of Salzburg in 1809, ordained 1835, and was influenced by the *Berichte* to come to the United States. P. Corbinian, "Hochwuerdiger Caspar Rehrl, der Apostel von Calumet," *Pastoral-Blatt*, 1919, 53:161-67. Rev. George Rehrl, a brother, taught at St. Francis Seminary.

³⁸ Joseph Rainer, *Dr. Joseph Salzmann's Leben und Wirken*, 40-43.

³⁹ Joseph Rainer, "Rev. Michael Wisbauer," *Pastoral-Blatt*, 1922, 56:179-84.

Another character, Father George Laufhuber, seems to fit into the picture of the Milwaukee diocese around 1850. A small publication, *Volksblatt für Religion und Gesetz*, whose first number appeared in Linz June 21, 1848, and whose title reflects the recent events, mentioned him as having left Bremen for America in August, 1848. His activities are not easily followed. At all rates, it seems that he built the first school at Holy Cross, Wisconsin, which he turned over to the School Sisters of Notre Dame. It also appears that he and Father Gernbauer established St. Mary's church, Belgium, Wisconsin. The Catholic Directories of 1853 and 1854 list him as living in Baltimore, in 1856 in Buffalo, and in 1858 in Fordham, New York. No doubt he knew Salzmann because both were from the neighborhood of Linz, but why their paths diverged cannot be discerned.^{39a}

In 1849 Salzmann became assistant pastor of St. Mary's, Milwaukee, and in 1850 when Father Heiss (later archbishop), the pastor, went to Europe for his health, Salzmann was appointed pastor. This was just the time when the Forty-eighters were becoming abusive in America, and Salzmann, having been their target, founded the *Seebote* to counteract the *Flugblätter*.⁴⁰

Meanwhile Salzmann busied himself with an additional church to accommodate the Germans living south of St. Mary's in Milwaukee. The cornerstone of Holy Trinity church, as it was called, was laid in 1849, and on September 22, 1850, the church was dedicated, at which occasion the first permanent pastor, Father Sadler, preached. The latter, born in the diocese of St. Poelten, came to the new world in 1846. In 1850 he organized a school society and just about simultaneously a school began to operate. The Leopoldine Society lent a helping hand in 1851 to the extent of \$1,200. In 1851 the celebrated Austrian Jesuit, Weninger, gave a mission, and in 1858 he again served in the same capacity. Though the parish prospered, the

^{39a} *Volksblatt für Religion und Gesetz*, Nov. 11, 1848, says Laufhuber had been ordained in 1844. *Ibid.*, July 12, 1848, has an article on Salzmann. See also Harry H. Heming, *The Catholic Church in Wisconsin*, 368, 427.

⁴⁰ For information on *Flugblätter* see chapter IV; also Rainer, *op. cit.*, 68-71.

pastor resigned and moved to Rochester, New York. Soon afterward he went back to the diocese of St. Poelten where he died in 1887.⁴¹

When the cornerstone of Holy Trinity church, Milwaukee, was laid, a song was sung which had been written by Father Clement Hammer, a man of unusual ability. Born in 1804 he received an elaborate training leading to the doctorate and ordination in Prague in 1836. In the following year he sailed from Trieste for the diocese of Detroit. While he travelled extensively in the United States he worked steadily for a time in the environs of Notre Dame, Indiana. Though trained in many lines he chose to write poetry, paint pictures and compose music. In the early years of the *Wahrheitsfreund's* existence he contributed many an item, while functioning as pastor of St. Mary's, Cincinnati. In 1842 he visited Europe for two years, called on Maria Moerl, and came back to America. While abroad Hammer had spent several months in Munich, and, being acquainted with the officials of the Ludwig Mission Society, he received a grant of 10,000 francs. In 1866 Hammer became a canon in Prague, so his career in America ended. After serving in his new office for ten years he resigned, and died in 1879.⁴²

In 1853 Salzmann travelled in western Wisconsin to boost the circulation of his paper, the *Seebote*. En route he was so deeply touched by the lack of priests that he resolved to remedy the situation. Returning to Milwaukee he tried to stimulate Father Heiss into founding a seminary, but when the latter remained skeptical, Salzmann talked to the bishop who was delighted with the proposal. This did not require much salesmanship on the part of Salzmann because, long before, Henni had planned a German seminary in Covington, and he had never given up that objective, even though he may have given up that site. Salzmann with great effort erected a large seminary building in St. Francis, and Heiss became its first rector. In 1868 Heiss became the first bishop of La Crosse, and

⁴¹ William George Bruce, *Holy Trinity Church 1850-1925*, 13-27.

⁴² F. G. Holweck, "Vater Clemens Hammer," *Pastoral-Blatt*, 1923, 57:16-22.

Salzmann succeeded to the rectorship, a post which he held till his death in 1874.

In 1865 Salzmann visited Austria where he solicited books, students, and financial aid. Emperor Francis Joseph granted an audience and gave him a donation, the Empress Caroline Augusta was generous to him, and the retired Emperor Ferdinand gave him 600 florins for his seminary. He also was received by the duke of Modena who gave him a donation. Upon making a visit to Cardinal Rauscher, the protector of the Leopoldine Society, the cardinal made the apt comment that no matter how much money the society had, it still resembled a man who tries to water a wheat field with a sprinkling can.⁴³

It was on this same trip that Salzmann received 3,000 gulden from the king of Bavaria to found a normal school. This Salzmann erected next to his seminary in 1870, and while it never flourished it carried on its pioneer work until 1922, and Pio Nono high school which was attached to it closed in 1941.⁴⁴

Though extending beyond the scope of this work it is significant that the third rector of St. Francis Seminary, Wapelhorst, came to America at the instance of an Austrian, Melcher; the fourth rector, Zeininger, was an Austrian; while Rainer, his successor, had come from Austria in 1866, he became professor in 1867, rector in 1887, retired from the rectorship in 1920, and taught till his death in 1927.

The Sisters of St. Agnes, Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, owe their origin to Father Rehrl, who had preceded Salzmann to the diocese of Milwaukee. Landing in New Orleans, whose German church had been built by Kundek, he did not stay there more than a few months, but, due to an acquaintance with Father Kundig, he went to Milwaukee. His activities were primarily in the country adjoining the city of West Bend. In all, Rehrl attended from thirty to forty mission stations. Despite his frontier man's mode of life, Rehrl was interested in education and tried to found a teaching sisterhood. In 1852 he went to Europe for a period of three years to recruit candidates.

⁴³ Rainer, *op. cit.*, 170-71.

⁴⁴ The vacated buildings were then taken over by St. Francis Seminary.

While abroad Pope Pius IX approved his plans. Though unable to recruit nuns in Europe he concentrated on his Wisconsin territory and eventually enlisted thirty members for the motherhouse in Barton. The bishop, however, did not approve of the rule, and in 1870 under Father Haas' and Father Kundig's leadership, most of the community moved to Fond du Lac. For nine years a few remained with Rehrl, but they eventually went to Fond du Lac, even before Father Rehrl's sudden death on September 3, 1881. Though the community of nuns has endured, Rehrl's proposal of having them teach in the public schools did not materialize.⁴⁵

The Catholics living in and around Madison, Wisconsin, enjoyed the service of the Premonstratensians, Inama and Gaertner, for a while, but their pioneer work was developed by secular priests who almost equally early had come from Austria to the United States. In 1848 Father Whitehead, a professor from Maynooth, settled in Madison, but within a year he returned to Ireland. Father Francis Etschmann from Tirol was Madison's second pastor. He, as it were, was a gift from the Premonstratensians because he had been induced to immigrate by Father Inama. Etschmann had been ordained in 1842, and in 1848 he came to America. After working in several places in Wisconsin he was appointed pastor of Madison where he remained from 1850 to 1857. When he built St. Raphael's church he took up the beggar's staff and made a begging tour which included Montreal, Canada. Father Etschmann left the capitol city in 1857 but he returned in 1862 and remained until 1865. Besides his work in Madison, he had been a pastor in Racine, Port Washington, La Crosse, and Green Bay, but he spent the last years of his life at Brighton, Wisconsin, where he had been prior to his arrival in Madison. Father Etschmann interrupted his pastoral work several times in order to visit his homeland, and during one visit he published a notice in *Katholische Blätter aus Tirol*, dated December 22, 1857, urging priests to come to the diocese of Milwaukee and not to worry about the difficulty of learning the English language.⁴⁶ Father Etschmann died in the year 1896.

⁴⁵ Johnson, *Stuffed Saddlebags*, 265-66.

⁴⁶ *Katholische Blätter*, 1857, 1211-12.

While Father Etschmann, during his first term in Madison, cared for all the Catholics, it became necessary to start a second parish exclusively for the Germans in July, 1857. The first pastor of this church was Father Haider. He, like Etschmann, had been born in Tirol, and was ordained by the celebrated Bishop Galura in 1845. In October, 1850, he arrived in America where he first served Jefferson, then Madison, and later Sheboygan (1862-85). In Madison, besides his priestly duties, he taught school, a work which he shared with Mr. Joseph Lohr. The parish was really sizeable for in 1857 Bishop Henni confirmed forty-nine candidates and the school had an enrollment of ninety pupils. Father Zitterl placed the number of German families at eighty for the year 1857. While Haider was pastor in Madison he also cared for the Catholics of Monroe, a city forty miles west of Madison. In 1860 Father Weninger, S.J., gave a mission in Madison. When Haider left for Sheboygan in 1862 he was followed by Father John Michael Obermueller, an Austrian, who had been ordained in 1851. He served the Madison parish till 1874 when he was transferred to Monroe. From 1877 to 1911 another Austrian, Rev. Alois Zitterl, who had followed Dr. Salzmann to America, presided over the parish, and from 1911 to 1923 he lived in retirement. While the history of this average congregation could be expanded at length, the mere succession of events illustrates the significance of Austria's contribution to Germans living in Wisconsin.⁴⁷

Father Francis Obermueller, a brother of the priest named above, had a hectic existence which pivoted around the Milwaukee diocese. He came to America in 1844 and was ordained in Milwaukee in 1846. Almost immediately he must have grown restless for he joined the Precious Blood Fathers who had been established in New York by Father Brunner. Obermueller soon left the order, and by the middle of 1850 he was back in the Milwaukee diocese, stationed at Fussville. In 1852 Obermueller returned to Europe where he stayed till 1855. In that year Brunner was in Europe and he happened to meet his former colleague. Obermueller joined the order again and in 1857 he was holding a post in Cleveland, Ohio. In three years

⁴⁷ Alois Zitterl, *Meine dreissigjährigen Erfahrungen als Priester in Madison, Wis.*, 1-43.

he was out of the order again, but he stayed in Ohio as a secular priest until 1865 when he emerged again in the Milwaukee diocese. In Jefferson, Wisconsin, he was chaplain to the Sisters of St. Francis, and, when the order divided, he went to La Crosse where he lived till his death in 1886.⁴⁸

At least one Hungarian priest, Father Max De Beck, pioneered in Wisconsin. He appears to have been a canon in Raab and a chaplain in Kossuth's army. In 1852 he came to the Milwaukee diocese where he was active until 1879. His first appointment was to Fredonia; his last to Seymour.⁴⁹

Father Maly is famous as an apostle of Wisconsin's Bohemians. Born near Budweis in 1828 he was ordained in 1851. Late the following year he arrived in the United States. For two years he was active in the vicinity of Syracuse, New York. In 1854 he joined the Milwaukee diocese and held services for the Bohemians in the old cathedral, a small structure dating from 1839, and later he went to Manitowoc county where a Bohemian settlement was developing.⁵⁰

Iowa in 1830 had hardly fifty white men, but by June, 1833, the Indian title to the lands of eastern Iowa was extinguished as a result of the Indian War, and the stream of European immigration crossed the Mississippi River. In 1835 Father Mazuchelli, O.P., built the first church in Iowa, and by 1837 a bishop elect who was acquainted with Alabama began asking "How far from the Mississippi River is Dubuque?" "Is there

⁴⁸ F. G. Holweck, "Vater F. X. Obermüller," *Pastoral-Blatt*, 1921, 55:113-16.

⁴⁹ See "Letters of the Rt. Rev. John Martin Henni and the Rev. Anthony Urbanek," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 1926, 10:85 n. 38. Celestine Bittle, *The Romance of Lady Poverty*, 27.

⁵⁰ Harry H. Heming, *The Catholic Church in Wisconsin*, 1038-39. Some Czechs were not a credit to the Church. For example Rev. Thomas Juraneck who was involved in the Revolution came to America in 1848 or 1849. Having tried cigar making in New York, he tried fruit peddling in Milwaukee. He travelled far and wide finally settling in Manitowoc County, Wisconsin, as schoolmaster, cigar-maker, justice of the peace, and newspaper correspondent. Other nationalities, of course, sent similar characters, both lay and clerical, to the new world. Capek, *op. cit.*, mentions a number of Czech renegades. See also Zizka, *op. cit.*, 44-54.

Father Gartner, also an apostle of the Wisconsin Bohemians, had participated in the Hungarian revolution. Only later did he decide to become a priest. Born in Olmuetz he was ordained in Milwaukee in 1867, and ten years later he died.

any other village besides Dubuque in the diocese?" Had Bishop Loras asked where the next western diocese began he would have learned that there was none between his and the Pacific Ocean. In 1840 Catholics numbered 3,100, but in 1855 they were 42,000 strong.⁵¹

To the Dubuque diocese, the Society for the Propagation of the Faith contributed slightly more than 500,000 francs, or \$100,000, from 1838 to 1860. The record of the Leopoldine Society's donations is:

1839	6,000 florins
1840	6,000 florins
1842	3,000 florins
1844	3,000 florins
1845	3,000 florins
1846	2,000 florins ⁵²

The Leopoldine Society has left a memorial of itself on the map of Iowa. One day back in 1846 Bishop Loras was driving along a virgin road when he happened upon a colony of seventy-four Catholic Germans living at Fangmann's Settlement, twenty-five miles west of Dubuque. They had come there from Ohio in ox drawn covered wagons, and they pleaded with the bishop for a priest. The bishop encouraged them in building St. Boniface church and in recognition of the generosity of the Austrian society the community changed its name to New Vienna. Father Weninger, writing in 1853, said that an Austrian priest from Tirol, Father Mathias Lentner, was in charge of the parish which included over 200 families. All were Catholic—Weninger had received the last three Protestants into the fold.⁵³ Not much is known of Father Lentner except that as early as 1851 he used to visit New Vienna at intervals of several months, and at some later date he became the resident pastor. Besides taking care of that parish he occasionally read Mass at Guttenberg and Sherrill. That the life of the frontier pastor was hard is indicated by his financial statement for the year 1853—his income was \$159.75. In sharp contrast

⁵¹ Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 50, 71, 146, 317.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 376. Besides these gifts in cash there were also gifts in kind.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 215, 377.

to this was the status of the parish school which in the fall season of 1852-53 enrolled fifty-four pupils and in the summer term forty-four pupils. During the year twenty-four received First Holy Communion. In addition to this there was another school at Nordfolk which accommodated twenty children.⁵⁴

In 1853 and 1857 Weninger conducted a number of successful missions in Iowa. Dealing primarily with Germans he came into contact with the anti-clerical or anti-Christian Forty-eighters. On one occasion a bottle of nitric acid was thrown through the window on his bed, and another time, while carrying the Blessed Sacrament to a sick person, a horseman attempted to trample him under foot. Not long after that Weninger preached a mission at Guttenberg, a small community north of Dubuque, where he had a different experience. It was the twenty-fifth anniversary of his ordination and just when the mission cross was being set up, a customary ceremony in Weninger's missions, a bright cross appeared in the sky. It seemed to be about one hundred feet high and twenty-five wide. The cross remained about fifteen minutes and was seen by both Catholics and Protestants.⁵⁵

Farther to the north lay the vast diocese of St. Paul. The contribution that Austria made to that area in the way of furnishing priests has already been discussed. Besides that, the Leopoldine Society sent 3,000 florins to that diocese both in 1853 and 1854.⁵⁶ The *Berichte* only devoted one half of a page to the diocese when it quoted Bishop Cretin to the effect that he had under his jurisdiction 30,000 Indians.

The only Austrian priest who penetrated into the far West was Father Gottfried Menzel. He came from Neustadt, Bohemia, and he travelled extensively in Texas. Some of his letters found their way into the *Berichte* and served as the vehicle for conveying firsthand information about Texas to the citizens of central Europe.

⁵⁴ Mss. letters of Lentner to the bishop of Dubuque, June 30, 1853, January 12, 1854. Preserved in the Chancery office, Dubuque, Ia.

⁵⁵ Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 326-28. Guttenberg had been laid out by Der Deutsche Westliche Ansiedlungsverein. See *The American-German Review*, 1942, No. 4, p. 28.

⁵⁶ *Berichte*, 25, 26, supplements. *Ibid.*, 25:121 refers to a donation of 2,000 florins. That is probably a misprint.

Texas, at the time of Menzel's arrival, was still an independent republic. Some of the inhabitants had at an earlier date accepted Catholicism as a condition for acquiring land from the Mexican government, but their religion was less than nominal. In 1842 a number of German counts and princes met at Biebrich, near Mainz, and formed a society, the *Adelsverein*, led by Prince Carl zu Solms Braunfels, an officer in the Austrian army. This society was organized on a profit basis and its objective was to convoy to Texas Germans who wished to emigrate to the new world. The prince came to America and published a book of 144 pages entitled *Texas geschildert in Beziehung auf seine geographischen, socialen und übrigen Verhältnisse mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die deutsche Colonization. Ein Handbuch für Auswanderer nach Texas*, in which he eulogized Bishop Odin and pointed out that in 1844 there were only four Catholic churches in Texas, and that there was only one German priest, an Alsatian, and one German minister, a Westphalian.

The village of New Braunfels, which is named after the prince, was founded on Good Friday, March 21, 1845, and in the absence of a German flag, an Austrian flag was hoisted to solemnize the event. While the religious convictions of the prince are not clear, his actions show that he tried to satisfy both the Catholics and the Protestants who were willing to settle in Texas.⁵⁷

On December 23, 1844, at Port Lavaca Rev. Ervendberg conducted Protestant services, but the Catholic priest, whom the prince had requested of the superior of the Redemptorists, had not yet arrived even though \$100 had been forwarded to Baltimore to defray his travelling expenses.⁵⁸ Not long

⁵⁷ The writer would infer from the German edition of the prince's book, 43-44, that he was a Protestant. The eulogy on Odin ends with the remark that such is the opinion of a Protestant. This passage is incorrectly translated in the recent English edition. The preface of the English edition describes the prince as a "devout Roman Catholic" which is certainly an exaggeration. Prominent citizens of New Braunfels interested in local history are in the dark regarding the religion of the prince. *Rheinisches Conversations-Lexikon*, 1829, and Brockhaus, *Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyclopädie für die gebildeten Stände Conversations-Lexikon*, 10 ed. 1854, s. v. Solms, make it very probable that the prince was a Protestant.

⁵⁸ Report of the prince dated December 23, 1844, printed in *Kalendar der Neu Braunfelser Zeitung für 1916*, p. 45.

afterward Father Menzel, a secular priest, arrived in Texas, and in spring, 1846, he read the first Mass in New Braunfels, but no church was built until 1850. Northwest of New Braunfels lay the German village of Fredericksburg. In the early forties a Catholic teacher, John Leyendecker, gathered the Catholics together to pray and hear him read the gospel. In 1847 Father Dubuis, later bishop, and Father Salazar conducted services there and the following year Menzel erected a parish church from which he attended the parish at New Braunfels. Father Weninger found his way to Fredericksburg and during a mission in 1859 stressed the need of a better church, and on June 9, 1861, the cornerstone was blessed.⁵⁹

Since so little is known of Father Menzel, his correspondence with Father Petters in Kratzau, northern Bohemia, is of interest. The latter was an honorary canon of the cathedral of Leitmeritz and apparently quite interested in science because he asked the Texan missionary to describe in detail the flora of that region. That Menzel could fill the bill is evidenced by his letter of December 5, 1850, in which he used the technical botanical terms and he also told that specimens of snakes which he had gathered had spoiled because he did not renew the alcohol which was quite expensive in America. Insects he had preserved in coffee which had been thoroughly roasted and finely ground, and he also had gathered herbs and seeds. In an earlier letter of July 5, 1850, he spoke of copper snakes, moccasins, and rattlesnakes as being common, but seldom had anyone died from their bite. Speaking of the forests, he observed that it was time to start forestry but he cleverly added that such would begin only when there was no more wood.

Although Menzel was quick to notice the absence of song

⁵⁹ West of San Antonio Castroville was founded in 1844. While it was both Catholic and German it seems to have had no dealings with Menzel or the Leopoldine Society. As early as 1844 Bishop Odin of Galveston corresponded with the Leopoldine Society; in 1845 he visited Vienna in person, and in the following years he received \$1,406 and \$1,474 respectively. The *Berichte* 20:81-86; 22:5-10 reproduced letters of Bishop Odin concerning Texas. See also Don Biggers, *German Pioneers in Texas, passim*; *Katholische Blätter aus Tirol*, 1859, 552; Rudolph L. Bieseke, *The History of the German Settlements in Texas 1831-1861*, 218; H. Gerlach, *75-jähriges Jubiläum der St. Marien-Gemeinde zu Friedrichsburg, Texas*, 18-19; Mary A. Fitzmorris, *Four Decades of Catholicism in Texas 1820-1860*, 63-69.

birds and equally quick to appreciate the taste of watermelon, he also made observations on human affairs. In Texas he estimated that there were twenty Indian tribes, and he remarked that while their conversion was neglected, missionaries could accomplish more than expensive warfare. Speaking of the California gold rush, he estimated that the average man made about \$15 a day, and that while anarchy had prevailed at first, order was gradually emerging. Very surprising to the Austrians, no doubt, was the report that maids earned from \$100 to \$120 per month. As for the Germans, he observed that their papers were as radical as in Europe, and he singled out the New York *Staatszeitung* as especially offending. Menzel, it must be remembered, was writing shortly after the pope had returned triumphantly to Rome—an event that had a disquieting effect on many journalists on both sides of the Atlantic.

Speaking of religious matters the missionary pointed out that Bishop Odin's vast diocese had only fourteen priests, and he added that no prospective missionary need fear the Indians; however, he must be prepared to live in such a way as to command respect. America differed from the homeland: the priest must work, but he need pay no compliments, and he will not receive them. Incidentally, the priest cannot go to taverns for it would not harmonize with his office and it would also "collide with his financial system." Interestingly enough, Father Hammer, priorly mentioned, was an habitu   of one or two Cincinnati inns and he lost none of his prestige—doubtless the taverns in Texas lacked the cultural air of those in relatively urbane Ohio.

Anent his parishioners, Menzel said that those at Fredericksburg were more devout than the New Braunfels people, and he apparently had been vexed by Methodist proselytizing. In addition to being on the defensive he conducted, at least for a time, a school which attracted twenty-three pupils. It was the pastor's opinion that the Catholics should consolidate into settlements to preserve their faith, and, although his bishop agreed with him, no steps were taken to realize this objective.⁶⁰

In the first of the two letters Menzel mentioned that he

⁶⁰ *Berichte*, 23:78-87; 24:82-91; 24: supplement, records that the Leopoldine Society sent that year 3,000 florins to Texas. Part of that sum was to be used for the church in New Braunfels.

planned to visit Austin and Bastrop where there were some Catholic settlers, and in 1851 he expected to go via New York to Europe. The life of a missionary had given him the appearance of an old man and he also suffered from eye disorders which he ascribed to the heat of summer and to his having so often slept out of doors.

After 1850 Menzel fades out of the American picture and nothing more is known of him. If his eye ailment was serious he may have soon died or he may have spent the evening of his life in utter darkness.

In summary it appears that three men especially were active in leading missionaries to America: Baraga lured Pierz by mail while he lured Fox, a student from Berlin, upon visiting the seminary of St. Sulpice in Paris. Besides him, in 1854 Baraga brought along five priests: Lautischar, two brothers by the name Roesch, one Tiroler and one Frenchman whose names are not known.⁶¹ In 1864 Pierz procured one priest and fifteen students, eleven of whom completed their studies and were ordained. Similarly, Salzmann was a magnet for priests and theologians. In 1847 he came to the new world with Urbanek, Gernbauer, Bermadinger, Fusseder, and Wisbauer (perhaps more), in 1866 he induced Father Sadler to return to America as professor in the seminary, and he also brought along with him as advanced students many future priests, namely, Rainer, Zitterl, Gartner, Friedel, Huber, Pichler, Ruckengruber, Zeininger, Zechenter, and Heller. A similar list could be drawn up for Father Mosetizh who worked in the diocese of Pittsburgh. Not only can the historian conclude that Austria's chief contribution to America was the number of priests she sent, he is also justified in concluding that the greatest possible contribution was not florins of silver but men of sterling character.⁶² Obviously, any amount of money remains sterile unless it is used by men of ability to promote a cause, and money is most productive when used by men who are familiar with local

⁶¹ Verwyst, *op. cit.*, 272, 278.

⁶² Salzbacher, *op. cit.*, 368-69, estimates that in 1843 there were 300,000 German Catholics and the number of their priests was hardly fifty.

needs. The Leopoldine Society provided the men and did not forget to augment their powers with means.

The priests who came to America from Austria arrived in the crucial years when the forest and the prairie were being charted into dioceses and states. At first they stayed in their saddles serving scattered families, but later they settled down to serve regularly organized parishes. These priests, whose lives in many instances reached far into the nineteenth century, constituted an important part of the nuclear material of the clergy of the American dioceses, and, when they left time for eternity, men whom they had inspired and educated filled the vacant places at the many altars which they had raised in their time to the one eternal God.

The following table shows the number of Austrian priests in America in 1869 and 1882 classified by dioceses of origin:

Diocese	1869	1882
Brixen	30	43
Bruenn	4	3
Budweis	4	7
Graetz	2	
Gurk	1	
Klagenfurt	1	
Koeniggraetz	1	3
Laibach	15	19
Leitmeritz	1	2
Linz	9	11
Olmuetz	5	9
Prague	4	6
Salzburg	6	3
Seckau	5	6
St. Poelten	1	
Trent	5	6
Vienna	4	3
	—	—
	98	121

Some of the large groups from the German dioceses:

Muenster	120	188
Paderborn	102	182
Freiburg	54	108
Cologne	51	106
Rottenburg	36	95

Though these statistics of the *Schematismus* are not entirely accurate, they give a comparative picture of the situation.

CHAPTER VIII

AUSTRIANS IN RELIGIOUS ORDERS

The Catholic Church has, in addition to the diocesan clergy whose members are subject to the local bishops, international clerical organizations with specialized objectives. These are known as religious orders. Though some do little missionary work, most of them are admirably adapted for it. In the first place, the men whom the orders send out enjoy the strength of a companionship which springs from constant association and from a similar philosophy of life. Secondly, in the event that a missionary proves unfit for his task, he can readily be transferred with little detriment to anyone. Thirdly, the religious community in most cases has capital to invest and has agencies of advertising and stimulating interest in the missions.

In analyzing the Austrian contribution to the German Catholics in America, it is safe to say that Austrians of the religious orders trailed far behind the frontier; only when the new world was promising a settled existence did the permanent foundations which are still active today strike root. The history of the Austrian Redemptorists illustrates this strikingly. Although they floundered in the thirties on the frontier, by 1860 they had developed into a very productive subsidiary to the diocesan clergy.¹

In 1827 when Father Résé of Cincinnati visited Europe he became acquainted with the Redemptorists in Vienna, and the saintly provincial, Father Joseph Passerat, the successor of St. Clement Mary Hofbauer, showed so much interest in the missions that he decided to send some men to America. Here a tragic misunderstanding was born. Résé expected the Redemptorists to arrive with sizeable funds; the Redemptorists expected

¹ Few religious communities in Austria were strong owing to Josephinism. See Rudolf Hittmair, *Der Josefinische Klostersturm im Land ob der Enns*. *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, s. v. *Autriche*, asserts that under the decree of 1781 out of 2,067 foundations 788 monasteries were closed and 140 more were suppressed in Hungary. The Redemptorists under the leadership of Hofbauer had broken the spell of the Enlightenment and had become popular. For that reason they also suffered greatly in the revolution of 1848.

help from the bishop in America. Résé also overlooked the spirit of St. Alphonsus whose rule insists on community life, preaching retreats and missions, and taking care of the spiritual needs of the poor. Obviously, Résé did not plan to have them do that kind of work, yet after the Redemptorists had arrived in the United States they refused to deviate from the prescriptions of their rule.²

Be that as it may, in April, 1832, Fathers Simon Saenderl, Francis Haetscher, and Francis Tschenhens with three lay brothers, James Kohler, Aloysius Schuh and Wenceslaus Witopil, embarked at Trieste for America. They arrived in New York on June 20, and the pastor begged one of the priests to stay because New York had at least 1,000 German Catholics who lacked a shepherd, but the Redemptorists had engaged to work for the bishop of Cincinnati, and accordingly they declined the invitation. Being in doubt as to their exact destination, the sons of St. Alphonsus went by river and canal to Cincinnati where they arrived on July 17, 1832. In the bishop's absence, Father Résé asked Father Tschenhens to stay in Cincinnati at the German parish, and Brother James was asked to introduce the German cuisine into the seminary. The other four went on to Detroit where they met Father Richard and learned that Bishop Fenwick planned to have the new arrivals take over a parish composed of Canadians. The parish had a farm of 400 acres, but the church was dilapidated and encumbered with a debt of \$800. The Fathers were expected to get money from Vienna, to preach in French, and to conduct a school. While Father Tschenhens was in Cincinnati, Father Haetscher was in Detroit, and Father Saenderl, who had arrived in Green Bay on August 31, was looking for a location for a house of the order.³ Meanwhile the Germans in the environs of Detroit made use of the opportunity to receive the

² It probably was not hard to induce Redemptorists to come to America because Hofbauer himself had been very much interested in opening foreign missions. The same is true of Passerat, whose beatification process began in 1901. See the monumental work, John Hofer, *St. Clement Maria Hofbauer*, 237, 252, 304.

³ From 1820 to 1830 Green Bay was a place of promise, not because it was one of the few villages in Wisconsin, but because it was located on the water route which so many missionaries had travelled from Mackinac and Arbre Croche to the interior of the United States.

sacraments from a priest who spoke their language. Father Haetscher who had tarried en route to Detroit arrived there eleven days after Father Saenderl. Since Father Richard died of the cholera within a month after Haetscher's arrival, the latter stayed in Detroit for a time while Saenderl was already in Green Bay. Just then Father Baraga was in Detroit to supervise printing an Indian reader and prayerbook, and he urged Brother Aloysius to go to Arbrescotte to teach some Indians locksmithing and blacksmithing. Father Haetscher agreed, and after Brother Aloysius had finished teaching the Indians, he went to Green Bay.⁴

Meanwhile Tschenhens began his apostolate in northern Ohio. After having spent four months in Cincinnati he went to Peru, near Norwalk, where in 1834 he finished a church that had been begun in 1830, and dedicated it to St. Alphonsus. That same year he opened a school where a former nun, Francesca Bauer, taught from fifty to sixty pupils. He also opened four other schools in the neighborhood, and since the Green Bay project was becoming more and more gloomy, he decided that Peru would be a suitable place for a house of the order. Improvements were made, but trouble abounded in the parish, and in 1844 the Fathers of the Most Precious Blood took over the work of the Redemptorists.⁵

In August, 1835, Father Joseph Prost and a Bohemian, Father Peter Czackert, arrived in New York. The latter went directly to Ohio while the former stayed two months in New York City where Father Raffener, a secular priest, had just gotten the German church under roof and had completed school quarters in the basement of the church. That autumn, en route to the West, Father Prost had to stop at Rochester, New York, owing to a break in the canal. Back in 1810 when De Witt Clinton and others surveyed the route of the Erie Canal there was not even a village of Rochester, but in 1820 the population

⁴ *Berichte*, 5:19 sq. Byrne, *op. cit.*, 41-44. Saenderl's life has been discussed at length by John Lenhart in *Social Justice Review*, 1941, 34:130 sq.

⁵ *Berichte*, 9, 11. Byrne, *op. cit.*, 50-79. Tschenhens also worked at Bucyrus, Sandusky, Liberty, Tiffin, Canton, and other places.

of the new community was 1,502, in 1830 it was 10,863, and in 1840 it was 20,191.⁶

Father Raffeiner had visited Rochester in May, 1833, but he had accomplished nothing permanent. Father Prost found that there were about 600 Germans among the Catholics of the city, but he left the city to continue his journey, musing caustically: "While a person converts sixty Indians 600 Germans lose the faith because they have no priest." He also reflected on the plight of the Germans in New Orleans but added:

"In part the Germans brought this misfortune on themselves. They knew they would have few or no priests in America, but the love of money took precedence over the love of their souls. They would not listen, now they cry and are not heard. But the merciful God will take pity on them. The Indians are inculpable in their status, and it seems that therefore God pours His compassion on them especially."⁷

Despite his harshness, Father Prost kept thinking of Rochester, and in July, 1836, he returned as pastor, and in 1837 Bishop Dubois dedicated a German church there in honor of St. Joseph. Attached to this parish was also a mission at Dansville, fifty miles away. Right from the start there was a school in Rochester taught by a brother, but, as happened so often, in 1853 the School Sisters of Notre Dame were asked to take over the school. Prior to 1840 the parish had received generous gifts from Austria: \$2,500 from the Leopoldine Society, and another gift about twice that amount came from the bishop of Graz, Bishop Zaengerle. Whether it was a personal donation from him, or whether he forwarded the money of an unknown donor cannot be determined.

Bishop Dubois, seeing the success of the parish in Rochester, suggested that the Redemptorists come to New York and take Father Raffeiner's place and also conduct the diocesan seminary. The latter type of work did not appeal to the order, so nothing

⁶ Thomas Mullaney, *Four Score Years A Contribution to the History of the Catholic Germans in Rochester*, 57; Byrne, *op. cit.*, 54-55; Salzbacher, *op. cit.*, 272.

It is edifying to note that in 1816 John B. Klem and his family settled there. Soon afterward, when he became a father, his wife and his son Bernard walked to New York to have the child baptized in St. Anna church.

⁷ *Berichte*, 9:66-67.

eventuated. Father Raffener often had difficulty with his parishioners so the proposal of Bishop Dubois must be viewed as having mixed causes and perhaps mixed objectives.⁸

Within the ranks of the Redemptorists there was disagreement. Father Prost wanted a community of the order to locate at Rochester, but his confrères disapproved. In 1838 Father Czackert came to Rochester, but both Prost and Czackert left, and for a year the Germans were without a pastor. Then came Father Saenderl whose last inscription in the parish records is dated June 21, 1842, that is, three years after Prost opened the house in Pittsburgh. In 1841 Prost returned to Rochester for a few weeks, then he worked in New York, Utica and Constableville, and finally in 1843 he went to Europe.⁹

Meanwhile St. Joseph's, Rochester, remained a Redemptorist parish, and it moved into a new building in 1846. The Redemptorists also took care of the French element in the city and a number of stations. In 1858, for example, the list of stations included Elmira, Corning, Bath, Scottsville, Oswego, Clyde, Seneca Falls, Waterloo, Geneva, Canandaigua, Lyons, and Auburn.¹⁰

The parish of St. Joseph did not have a phenomenal growth but the following statistics evidence a steady increase up to 1860 when the parish reached its zenith.

1837	44 baptisms	25 marriages	
1840	154 baptisms	50 marriages	
1850	213 baptisms	56 marriages	240 school children
1860	490 baptisms	64 marriages	783 school children
1870	246 baptisms	48 marriages	924 school children ¹¹

Though busy with Rochester, Father Prost took time to accompany Bishop Dubois of New York to Buffalo in 1837. In 1829 Dubois had been there, and not long afterward Father Merz built a church, which was opened in 1832, and soon after that the pastor received Father Pax as assistant. Trusteeism had been especially vexatious in Buffalo, and, embittered by

⁸ Byrne, *op. cit.*, 62-63.

⁹ From 1848 to 1855 he was in England. Then he went to Austria and in 1858 he went to St. Thomas in the West Indies where he established a Redemptorist house and labored till 1862 when he returned to Austria where he died in 1885.

¹⁰ Mullaney, *op. cit.*, 69.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 194.

sorrows, Father Pax went back to Europe in 1843, and the next year the old Father Merz went into eternity. In 1845 the Redemptorists took charge of the parish and that same year the parish school opened with 150 pupils. At first it was conducted by lay teachers, but in 1849 the School Sisters of Notre Dame took charge of the girls. The Redemptorists not only flourished in Buffalo, but they also attended parishes in the neighborhood including some north of the Canadian border.¹²

In the city of New York trusteeism had also caused considerable havoc with the German element. When Father Leviz left St. Nicholas church in the spring of 1842 Coadjutor Hughes asked the Redemptorists to take over the parish. Knowing the nature of the trouble, the Fathers at once began the construction of a new church, which they dedicated to the Most Holy Redeemer. The cornerstone was laid in February, 1844, and the church was also used as a school for 100 pupils. That same year St. Nicholas was entrusted to a Capuchin, Father Ambrose Buchmeyer. Holy Redeemer became the unofficial mother church of the Germans in America, and in 1846 it set a good example by building a three-story school building. In 1851 a new church was built, and at its completion Bishop Neumann preached the sermon. The school continued to expand and by 1860 there were 1,300 children in the parish school.¹³

While the Redemptorists abandoned Green Bay as a field of labor, in the late thirties they made another attempt in the far West, in the diocese of Vincennes. In 1838 Father Czackert went to the colony of Joseph Picquet in southern Illinois with a view to founding an establishment. The driving force behind this was a friendship between Father Passerat in Vienna and the head of this settlement, but by 1840 the Redemptorists had decided to abandon the region.¹⁴

¹² Byrne, *op. cit.*, 221-40. That lay domination harassed the Protestant churches as well as the Catholic Church is stated by the traveller, Frederick Marryat, *Diary in America*, first series, 205-11.

¹³ Byrne, *op. cit.*, 141-47. The Redemptorists travelled far and wide in the state, to small places and to larger ones such as Albany.

¹⁴ Father Czackert had also visited some small settlements near Evansville, Indiana. *Berichte*, 13:3. Byrne, *op. cit.*, 73-74. Mary G. Kelly, *Catholic Immigrant Colonization Projects in the United States 1815-1860*, 97.

The Redemptorists had one other experience with a Catholic colony, in Elk County, Pennsylvania. After investing \$10,000 in 1843, they learned that the region was such a wilderness that it lacked a future. This was also the destination of the School Sisters of Notre Dame, who left Europe for the American missions, but both communities soon left for more densely populated areas. Here, as in Ohio, the Redemptorists were followed by another religious order, and in this case it was the Bavarian Benedictines who fared better in this venture.¹⁵

In 1839 the Redemptorists settled permanently at St. Philomena's church in Pittsburgh. Although they accomplished much in the growing German community at the southwestern end of Pennsylvania, they were far from being pioneers. Father McGuire, who came to Pittsburgh as its pastor in 1820, could speak German because he had lived in Germany a long time, so when German Catholics began to infiltrate they enjoyed a measure of priestly administration.¹⁶ In 1833 Father Masquelet, an Alsatian, became the first pastor of the Germans in the smoky city, but he stayed three years at most. In the thirties the Austrian Benedictine, Nicholas Balleis, served the Germans for a short time, but the parish continued to suffer from trustee trouble. In August, 1838, Father Prost came, and, after he had succeeded in gaining considerable good will, in 1840 he was joined by his confrères, Czackert and Tschenhens. Thus evolved the flourishing parish which later received a new church under the pastoral guidance of Father Neumann, later bishop of Philadelphia. Eventually fourteen parishes were formed from this single parish of St. Philomena. The missionary work radiating from this parish is reflected in the baptismal registers which contain the names of children from 156 places in Pennsylvania besides others in Virginia, Ohio, and Indiana.¹⁷

In 1840 Archbishop Eccleston gave the Redemptorists St. John's parish in Baltimore on condition that they build a

¹⁵ Byrne, *op. cit.*, 195-98. Kelly, *op. cit.*, 120-32.

¹⁶ In 1784 Father Paul de St. Pierre stopped at Pittsburgh. While he was the first priest to visit Pittsburgh, quite a few stopped there before 1800. See Felix Fellner, *Phases of Catholicity in Western Pennsylvania During the Eighteenth Century*.

¹⁷ Byrne, *op. cit.*, 84-90. At the dedication of the church Father Clement Hammer of Cincinnati, an Austrian, preached.

new church and a school, and that they care for all the Germans in the diocese. In fact, Eccleston thought it advisable to make the order responsible for all the Germans in the United States. The Leopoldine Society was generous to this parish, and on May 1, 1842, none other than Canon Salzbacher of Vienna laid the cornerstone of the new church.¹⁸

In 1843 Father Neumann wrote that Baltimore had 4,000 German Catholics, and that the languishing faith was reviving. As for Virginia he wrote:

"Recently the care of the German Catholics in Virginia was given to us by Bishop Whelan. From Baltimore we must visit once at least every three months Richmond, 170 miles from Baltimore; Harper's Ferry, 81 miles; Martinsburg, 100 miles; Kingwood, 250 miles."¹⁹

Wheeling, however, was visited from Pittsburgh and the order also had Cumberland, Maryland, to look after.

In 1845 Father Held was commissioned by the general of the order to visit the American missions. In 1846 he reported that there were missions in seven dioceses: Baltimore, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Albany, Buffalo, and Detroit. In Baltimore there were two churches serving between 10,000 and 12,000 German Catholics. The Fathers also attended the Germans in Washington and Richmond. In New York one church and school served 4,000 Germans. Four priests were there and several Brothers. Some of the latter taught in addition to the two salaried lay teachers. The Redemptorists had a church in Philadelphia, staffed with three priests, and in the basement of the church a school was conducted. There was another German church in Philadelphia but it was of little consequence. Pittsburgh had a parish of 6,000 souls and three schools, and the four priests in that city visited many parishes in that locality. The parishes in Rochester and Buffalo each included about 3,000 souls. In Monroe, Michigan, they had two priests whose efforts extended to all nationalities. In all the Redemptorists cared for about 40,000 Catholics.²⁰

¹⁸ Byrne, *op. cit.*, 93-95. Salzbacher, *op. cit.*, 131.

¹⁹ *Berichte*, 17:48.

²⁰ *Berichte*, 20:44-47.

The year 1850 was of significance to the Redemptorists because that year the American houses were erected into a province. That year the provincial reported that the order had ten stations in America: Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Rochester, Buffalo, Detroit, Monroe, Pittsburgh, New Orleans, and Cumberland.²¹ All but Monroe were German parishes, and New Orleans was mixed.²² Besides regular stations the order had about seventy places where occasional services were held. That the Redemptorists took school work seriously is seen in the attendance report of 3,633 pupils in the survey of 1850.²³ Three years later the fourteen Redemptorist schools had an enrollment of 6,116 pupils. While the order was thus expanding and increasing its influence, it also gave the Germans in the United States a bishop in the person of John Neumann.

The life of Neumann was short but brilliant. Born in Prachatitz, southwestern Bohemia, in 1811, he enjoyed the blessing of an exemplary home. In 1823 he went to the college at Budweis and during the second year of theology he began to read the *Berichte* of the Leopoldine Society. These, he himself said, inspired him to go to the American missions. Later he studied at Prague, where he was bored by Josephinistic professors. When the time for ordination came, Neumann painfully learned that he would have to wait, so on February 8, 1836, he bade farewell to Prachatitz and started for Havre. In Europe he had met Father Henni who informed him that Philadelphia had no special need of priests, but he advised him to see Bishop Bruté who would be in Paris at Easter. Neumann went through Europe armed with many letters of recommendation but none seemed to help so he went on to America. His arrival has been discussed in connection with Father Raffener, but, strange to say, en route while Neumann believed himself unadopted he was accepted by Bishop Dubois for service in the diocese of New York. Apparently this had been arranged by

²¹ Since this work is not a history of the Redemptorists, many of the smaller places have not been mentioned.

²² In 1852 the Redemptorists opened a German church in Monroe under the title St. Michael, to which was attached a school. From Monroe the Fathers attended nine mission stations including Detroit. Byrne, *op. cit.*, 199-213.

²³ *Berichte*, 24:50; 25:37.

Dr. Raess of Strassburg. For the first four years of his career Neumann had been the apostle of the Germans around Niagara Falls and a neighbor to the Redemptorists of Rochester. In the autumn of 1840 he joined the Redemptorists and for two years remained in Baltimore caring for missions throughout Maryland until March, 1844, when he was chosen superior of the Redemptorist community in Pittsburgh and pastor of St. Philomena's. In 1847 he was promoted to the office of Superior of the Redemptorists in the United States, and in 1852 he received the mitre,²⁴ the same year that he had established the first exclusively Italian church in the United States. Neumann was an able linguist, and, before as well as after his consecration, he was an indefatigable preacher. A year after his consecration he introduced the Forty Hours Adoration into the United States.²⁵ His episcopal career ended in sudden death on January 5, 1860. That he, like all the Redemptorists, was interested in schools is abundantly proved. He wrote a catechism which became popular, he wrote a Bible history, he urged a seminary for America in Europe, in his first pastoral letter he urged the need of parochial schools, in 1855 he founded a community of Franciscan Sisters to staff schools and hospitals, and he also established a petit seminaire after raising the standards in the major seminary. In every thing Neumann breathed enthusiasm for the welfare of souls but in no field was this more true than in the field of education.²⁶

In summarizing the work of the Redemptorists, it may be said that prior to 1840 they accomplished nothing permanent. After that they became outstandingly successful pastors of German parishes in the large cities which sprang up along the route of the immigrants. One reason for their success lay in the fact that the Brothers could assist the Fathers in many ways,

²⁴ There is gossip to the effect that the king of Bavaria influenced this move just as he aided Boniface Wimmer in defending his brewery versus the bishop of Pittsburgh. For Italian Church see Byrne, *op. cit.*, 303.

²⁵ This moot question is discussed in Byrne, *op. cit.*, 305-307.

²⁶ Wenceslaus Neumann, a brother of the bishop, came to the United States in 1841 as a lay brother of the Redemptorists. He died in New Orleans in 1896. The bishop's sister Catherine married Matthias Berger whose son John joined the order and wrote an exhaustive biography of his uncle.

and the most important way at first was as school teachers. Not only did the order help to eradicate trusteeism, it laid the foundation for the system of German Catholic schools which greatly influenced all Catholics in America. Lastly, when the work of teaching took on huge proportions the Redemptorists called upon the School Sisters of Notre Dame to continue the work which they themselves had so ably begun. That the Redemptorists promoted lay action appears from the fact that when the Catholic Central Verein was formed it consisted of seventeen societies, nine of them being from Redemptorist parishes.²⁷ The Central Verein, as it were, gathered the fruits of Redemptorist zeal. It was formally organized on April 15, 1855, in St. Alphonsus Hall, Baltimore, although the initiative came from Buffalo.

The work of the Jesuits among the Germans in America was not nearly so great as that of the Redemptorists. Naturally their schools were open to the German youth, and occasionally a professor of foreign languages was sought as a confessor, especially around Georgetown; but generally speaking the pastoral work of Austrian Jesuits among the Germans was restricted to the region of Cincinnati and St. Louis. Later, around 1850, a few German speaking Jesuits were active at different places in the state of New York.

In order to evaluate the role of the Austrian Jesuits in the United States it is necessary to appreciate their status in Austria. The order, as had been said, was revived just when Europe began to recover from the military exploits of Napoleon. Consequently the Jesuits had neither wealth nor surplus man power in 1830. More than that, the status of the Jesuits in Austria itself was doubtful. Emperor Francis I was unfriendly to the Jesuits, but his fourth wife, Caroline, a Bavarian and a friend of the Jesuits, modified his outlook. Metternich, who had been influenced by the Enlightenment, also opposed the Jesuits. In April, 1819, he wrote to Gentz that the emperor would not bring any Jesuits to Vienna but in 1820 when the Jesuits were exiled from Russia they settled in Tarnopol and later Metternich informed them that their college could continue. Simultaneously with the founding of the school at Tarnopol the

²⁷ Byrne, *op. cit.*, 101-102.

Polish Jesuits began a novitiate at Starawies. In 1829 the Jesuits had a foundation at Gleisdorf which they transferred to Gratz; in 1839 they took charge of the gymnasium and nobles' college of the Theresianum in Vienna; and in 1846 the Polish and Austrian Jesuits were separated into the Galician and the Austrian Provinces.²⁸

While the Jesuits felt none too secure in various parts of Europe, some did come to America in the twenties to care for both Indians and immigrants. Already at an early date the Germans used the chapel of St. Louis University and enjoyed the ministrations of Father Helias, a Belgian, and Father Cotting, his successor, who was a native of Switzerland. The Leopoldine Society gave the Jesuits substantial aid, and in 1843 a thousand dollars from Austria plus a donation of land from Mr. Mullanphy's daughter, Mrs. Ann Biddle, resulted in St. Joseph's church, St. Louis, the cornerstone of which was blessed in 1844. In February, 1846, Fathers John Hofbauer and Joseph Patschowski came to St. Louis from Austria, and, ironically enough, Hofbauer, who had become a Jesuit to escape parish work, was promptly appointed pastor of St. Joseph's. Later his travelling companion, Patschowski, became his assistant. In 1851 Hofbauer returned to Austria where he died in 1878.²⁹

²⁸ Karl Voelker, "Metternichs Kirchenpolitik," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1930, 49:222-46; Maximilian Bach, *Die Wiener Revolution im Jahre 1848*, Vienna, I. Brand, 1898, 131; Martin Harney, *The Jesuits in History The Society of Jesus Through Four Centuries*, 389-91. The Jesuits in Austria were attacked during the Revolution of 1848 but within four years they had overcome their losses.

²⁹ *Berichte*, 12:56; 17:19; 20:42. Gilbert Garraghan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, 2:19, 28, 31-33. Of the Leopoldine Society Garraghan writes, 2:28: "For the necessary financial aid to enable them to provide for the German-speaking parishes committed to their care, the Jesuits, having no other source on which to draw, turned to the Leopoldine Foundation of Vienna. Help from this quarter was generously given. In 1841 an appropriation of sixteen hundred dollars was made to the Jesuits of North America. In April, 1843, a subsidy of two thousand dollars was granted the Jesuits of the St. Louis diocese, followed by a subsidy to them in May, 1844, of sixteen hundred dollars. Of the two thousand dollars that thus came into the hands of Father Van de Velde in 1843, four hundred went to Father Helias for his new church at Haarville, four hundred to Father Busschots for the church he was building at Washington, and two hundred to the purchase of a church-site in Dardenne. The remaining thousand dollars Van de Velde proposed to put into a new church for the Catholics of North St. Louis. . ." See also 1:468. See *Berichte*, 20:37-44, for letter of Patschowski.

In 1847 the Austrian, Father Martin Seisl, replaced Father Patschowski as assistant at St. Joseph's. In 1851 the latter returned as pastor, following Hofbauer's return to Europe. From 1848 to 1851 Patschowski had been doing parish work in the environs of Cincinnati.³⁰ In 1853 Father Seisl went to Washington, Missouri, a center around which other missions clustered, while Father Patschowski persevered as pastor of St. Joseph's till his death in 1859. Aided by the Leopoldine Society, the parish opened a library of 600 volumes,³¹ and in 1848 a German paper, called the *St. Louis Zeitung*, made its debut. Mr. Eickhof, the editor, had been a teacher in the parish school, but within a few months he discontinued his paper. However, starting in January, 1850, Father Seisl published the *Herold des Glaubens*, and he also found time to write or edit *Katholisches Lesebuch*, *Kleiner Katechismus*, *A Life of St. Peter Claver*, and an account of the conversion of Ratisbonne.³²

Even before St. Joseph's church was open, attempts were made to teach the children. In 1846 Brother Karleskind, S.J., conducted a German boys' school in the basement of St. Francis Xavier church, and on August 17 of that year the Sisters of Charity started a girls' school in their orphanage. Two years later each group had its own building. In May, 1858, Father Patschowski introduced the School Sisters of Notre Dame into his parish to replace the Sisters of Charity who had asked to be relieved of their obligations.³³ Besides this there was a night school in English for adults. At first a school teacher was in charge, but later Father Seisl himself took over the instruction.

In 1848 two prominent Jesuits arrived from the Austrian province: Rev. Christopher Genelli and Rev. Francis

³⁰ Garraghan, *op. cit.*, 3:187.

³¹ Bishop Neumann tried to circulate good books. He received many from Bohemia including his favorites, Goffine, St. Alphonsus, and those of the Mechitarists. The last named religious community had for a long time devoted itself to disseminating good literature in Austria. Salzbacher, *op. cit.*, 140, 309, 320, mentions libraries in different parts of the country.

³² Garraghan, *op. cit.*, 2:19, 32-34. The *Herold* endured until well in the twentieth century. Francis Saler, an Austrian resident of St. Louis who promoted journalism, was one of its early benefactors. Rothensteiner, *op. cit.*, 2:173.

³³ Garraghan, *op. cit.*, 2:32, 145.

Weninger. The former was assistant at St. Joseph's in 1848 and 1849, but he is remembered primarily for his scholarly *Life of St. Ignatius*. Father Genelli planned to return to Austria in 1850, and he actually began the journey, but, while stopping in Cincinnati, the cholera detoured him into eternity.³⁴

Father Weninger had quite a different career. Born in Styria, a province of Austria, in 1805, he had bright prospects because his mother belonged to the nobility and his father had connections with the Hapsburg court. He became a doctor of divinity, a fellow at the university of Gratz, and he began his American career as professor of dogmatic theology in St. Francis Xavier College, Cincinnati. From December 8 to 18 of that same year, 1848, he gave his first mission at Oldenburg, Indiana, and thereafter this was his main occupation. By 1879 it was estimated that he had given over 800 missions, preached 30,000 times, and had made between 2,000 and 3,000 converts. His death occurred nine years later in Cincinnati on January 29, 1888. Most of his efforts were among the Germans and certainly no one man did more than Father Weninger to keep alive their faith. Of course, he was at his best among them because his English always remained defective.³⁵

Many of the pioneer German priests maintained that the faith and language would be lost or kept together. Father Weninger sincerely believed that, and, as a result, when he gave missions he often encouraged Germans to form their own parishes. Thus in July, 1851, he gave a mission in St. John's church, Green Bay, and as a result the Germans started their own church under the title Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. In 1859 Weninger did the same in Michigan City and in La Porte, both communities in the diocese of Fort Wayne. No doubt a thorough study of his life would reveal that many parishes owe their existence to him. In 1857 Father Weninger discussed in clear terms the importance of preserving the German language as an aid to protecting the Catholic religion of the immigrants. His viewpoint was given publicity in the *Annalen* of the Ludwig Mission Society. He wrote:

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 3:189.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 2:53-65. Weninger did some pastoral work in Cincinnati from 1848 to 1852. *Ibid.*, 3:188.

"I had the peculiar experience of understanding how correct is the principle of Bishop Henni: 'Language keeps Faith.' In truth, it would be risky and dangerous to sacrifice the German language among the Germans of this country and stubbornly anglicize everything. The Irish and English priests want this and cry out: 'One people, one language.' Very true, if there were one people, and if the majority of this people were Catholic. But that is contrary to facts, and will be for another century, probably until the end of the world, at least as long as the German immigration continues. The Germans living here, who no longer speak German although they descend from Germans, very easily unite with the English-speaking sects. The German character will never bear a union with the Irish. Rather than go to the Irish churches the Germans will remain at home or will visit a meeting-house of the sectarians . . . Where the Germans had their German schools and spoke only German, they are as faithful to their religion as they or their parents were a hundred years ago when they left the ship. Where English has supplanted German entirely, the condition of religion is unreliable and precarious. This teaches the important lesson not to hurry matters, but to cultivate the German language among the Germans until conditions change . . . Whatever is done for the Germans here in America, is done at the same time for the interests of holy Faith."³⁶

The Ludwig Mission Society thought highly of Weninger who knew all the details of the Germans in the United States, and the society made an annual appropriation for him. From 1852 to 1887 he received 45,699 gulden and 24,621 marks, and upon his advice many parishes received donations from Munich. On one occasion he suggested that the society send all its funds to him for distribution, but the officers of the society were unwilling to make him their manager in the United States.

Weninger was also a crusader with the pen. He published forty-seven works in German, sixteen in English (some translations), three in Latin, eight in French, and besides this he wrote some music. The sale of his books involved him in difficulties with his superiors who eventually forbade him to sell his books. His success as an author can be gauged by the fact that his *Life of the Saints* reached its fourth edition in

³⁶ Roemer, *The Ludwig-Missionsverein*, 94-95. H. J. Alerding, *The Diocese of Fort Wayne*, 235, 273. Harry H. Heming, *The Catholic Church in Wisconsin*, 573-74. This trend of thought is probably related to Romanticism, for even Herder encouraged Slavs not to Germanize but to promote their own racial characteristics and language.

1856; *Devotion to the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary* saw four editions in nine months, and by 1862 *Protestantism and Infidelity* had reached 30,000 copies. Although Weninger's works are uninteresting to the twentieth century, they were favorites of the nineteenth. Being adjusted to the mentality of his followers they were effective weapons in the cause of the Church.³⁷ As is to be expected, the profits which accrued to the author were allotted to pious causes.

In the period of Father Weninger's life which falls outside the scope of this work he interested himself also for the Indians and Negroes in America. He inaugurated the St. Peter Claver Society in the diocese of Cincinnati and through his efforts the Negro parish of St. Anne in Cincinnati came into existence and school facilities were also provided. In fact, Father Weninger had much to do with introducing the annual collections for the Indians and Negroes which are still prescribed.

While it has not been possible to identify a great number of Austrian Jesuits, Kleinschmidt maintains that there were nine Austrian Jesuits in North America in 1848; in 1849 there were twenty-four, in 1850 there were thirty-five, some of whom were working in Canada.³⁸

The Jesuits played a small but important role in the history of the German Catholic community in the city of Boston.³⁹

³⁷ Garraghan, *op. cit.*, 2:63-65. Weninger also wrote for the *Berichte*. His comments on the Civil War show that his forte was not critical acumen.

³⁸ Beda Kleinschmidt, *Auslanddeutschtum und Kirche*, 26. *Berichte*, 24:96-108, gives missionary reports from two Tirolese Jesuits, John Holzer and Andrew Prinz. The former was in St. Louis in October, 1848; the latter apparently went to New Germany in Upper Canada.

Father John Hackspiel, S.J., was born in 1825 in the diocese of Brixen, he was ordained in 1849, and in 1857 he came to America. He worked in the state of New York and died in 1885 as pastor of St. Joseph's church in New York City.

³⁹ Some say the first German Catholic to come to Boston was Joseph Oomann, who later drifted away from the faith. The date of arrival is given as 1804. Father Anton Reiter, S.J., however, reconciled him with the Church before his death. In 1827 Sebastian, Matthias, and Melchior Kramer came from Philadelphia to Boston, whereas Oomann had come from Hannover. As early as 1797 Father Francis Matignon ordered two German prayerbooks from the firm of Mathew Carey, which would indicate that there were Germans in the vicinity of Boston at that time. See John Lenhart, "German-American Catholics in Boston, 1846," *Social Justice Review*, 1943, 36:167-68, also 1926, 19:308, 416.

When the German contingent in Boston was sufficiently large to warrant attention, Bishop Benedict Fenwick, who knew some German, preached to them in his cathedral. In August, 1836, he secured a secular priest for them in the person of Francis Hoffmann, but in November of that same year the latter left for the West. At Christmas the bishop ordained Edward Freygang, an Austrian whom Bishop Résé had sent there for that purpose. He was appointed custodian of the Germans, but he left in November, 1837. Although Freygang's name appears occasionally in the Catholic directories he is said to have been suspended while living in Ohio.

Next came Rev. Bernard Smolnikar, a native of the diocese of Laibach, whose pastorate lasted from December, 1837, to spring 1838. For a while his services seemed a blessing but soon he claimed to have revelations in which he was instructed to purify the Church by denouncing the bishops and pope, and by forbidding the use of the Hail Mary and the Sign of the Cross. Besides his doctrinal aberrations he stirred up a hatred between the Prussians and Plattdeutsch and the Rhinelanders and Bavarians which lasted to the end of the century.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ See *Monatsbote* of Holy Trinity Church, Boston, May, 1943, 1-4. From one of his works, *Secret Enemies of True Republicanism*, 108-10, it appears that Smolnikar had been born around 1795 in the diocese of Laibach, and that he had been educated and ordained there. For six years he was a secular priest and then he became a Benedictine in Carinthia. For ten years he was professor of Biblical Literature. Emperor Ferdinand provided him with a passport to America and on November 29, 1837, he arrived in Boston. He claims to have been made the third angel mentioned in the Apocalypse, XIV, 9, in the cathedral of Boston on February 18, 1838.

Smolnikar refers to Baraga as a fellow student but he was not friendly with him and he also realized that Baraga was esteemed by the Austrian court while he could not gain a hearing. Both of them almost met in Cincinnati upon visiting a Protestant printing establishment. In Cincinnati Smolnikar encountered the famous Austrian infidel, Ludvig. Although the meeting took place in a tavern, the "priest" rose to the occasion and told him that he had a soul to save. On another occasion he met Kossuth and lectured to him about peace. In 1862 he visited Canada and after the War between the States was over he published another book. When and where he died has not come to the writer's notice.

Smolnikar was no doubt mentally deranged; he dabbled in philology, numerology, spiritism, idealistic forms of government, and relied upon his fantastic interpretations of the most difficult book of the Bible, namely, the Apocalypse. He wrote to many of the bishops, and was especially interested in Kenrick of Philadelphia because he could read German. He wrote to the monarchs of Europe about his

After this misfortune Father Raffener began to visit Boston twice a year. In July, 1841, he bought a site for a church, and in June, 1842, the cornerstone of Holy Trinity church was placed. However, hard times were ahead and the bishop was often obliged to lend substantial help while the people quarreled. On July 10, 1843, the tower collapsed, and one man in the neighborhood, thinking that the end of the world had come, stayed in bed for four days, but the world went on and the tower went up again. It was in this period that Canon Salzbacher visited the parish which he encouraged and which he also provided with a set of vestments after reaching Europe.

The next pastor was Father Rolof,⁴¹ an elderly man, whom the bishop had procured in Maryland. He remained from June, 1842, to May, 1844, and had the pleasure of reading the first

peace plans, and in 1849 Smolnikar ventured to ask Louis Napoleon to call all the bishops of his empire to a convention which would give ear to the "angel of the Apocalypse." The ex-Benedictine naively wondered why his letters remained unanswered.

In 1844 Smolnikar bought a tract of land in Warren County, Pennsylvania, for a community of Germans which was known as Peace Union Settlement. This failed promptly but later in life he experimented with a similar project. In a general way Smolnikar was influenced by Fourierism which enjoyed some favor in America at the time.

Smolnikar was active with the pen. From 1838 to 1840 he published in three volumes *Denkwürdige Ereignisse im Leben des Andreas Bernardus Smolnikar* in which he discusses his divine mission as extraordinary ambassador of Christ. In 1841 he published in both English and German, each volume in excess of 630 pages, *Eines ist noth, nämlich die glorreiche Erscheinung unsers Herrn Jesu Christi*. In 1859 he published *Secret enemies of true republicanism, most important development (!) regarding the inner life of man and the spirit world, in order to abolish revolutions and wars and to establish permanent peace on earth, also: the plan for redemption of nations from monarchical and other oppressive (!) speculations and for the introduction of the promised new era of harmony, truth and righteousness on the whole (!) globe*. In 1864 he published *The Great Message to All Governments and All Nations for the Introduction of Christ's Peaceable Reign on Earth which will be the Promised Universal Republic of Truth and Righteousness*. In 1865 he again addressed the world with *The Great encyclic epistle, divided into two parts; the first of which was occasioned by the death of President Abraham Lincoln, and the second by the capture of Jefferson Davis: both being preparatory to the work, with the title of the manuscript: "The heavenly mission to all governments and all nations for the introduction of Christ's peaceable reign on earth. Written by Andrew B. Smolnikar, representative of this mission. . . ."*

⁴¹ Rolof, a Bavarian by birth, had been ordained in Baltimore in 1808, and had been pastor of Bryantown, Maryland, from 1829 to 1842.

Mass in the latter year in the basement of the new church. In 1840 the bishop had asked the Leopoldine Society for a gift. Although he received \$3,786, in 1844 the debt stood at \$7,000.

The German priest had always lived with the bishop, so when Father Gerhard Plathe tried to build a rectory he found it impossible to win the support of the people. Father Plathe left in October, 1845, although he only had come in May, 1844, and the rectory was not begun until 1850. The next pastor of the Germans was a Franciscan, Alexander Martin, who left Tirol in September, 1845, for Cincinnati. Not liking the West, in March, 1846, he went to Boston where he remained until August, 1848. By nature Martin was restless, but he gave as his reason for leaving troubles which the trustees and Free Masons had created.⁴² Then Father Gustav Eck, a Swiss refugee, became the first Jesuit pastor and succeeded in staying six years, but his regime ended in sorrow. He started to build a new church without the express approbation of the bishop, borrowed money, and then collapsed from overwork. The result was that the basement of the new church was sold at auction. The buyer used the foundation for an apartment building, and the Catholics began a new church. During the next decade the monies usually accruing to a pastor were used to refund the laity's donations and eventually all claims were fully liquidated, but the parish collectively lost \$50,000.

From the time the Jesuits took over the parish to 1860, several Austrians were assistants, namely, Fathers Francis

⁴² Martin next became pastor of St. Francis church, New York, which had been erected in 1844. He probably succeeded the Hungarian Franciscan, Zachary Kunz, who had come to America in 1840 and after serving St. John's, New York, built St. Francis church in 1844. In 1848 Kunz left, later he worked in Buffalo, and at the time of his death in 1860 he was in the diocese of Hartford, Connecticut. After having been very successful in New York for seven years, Martin left the order with permission of his superiors, became a missionary in an English parish somewhere in the Northwest, and died in 1865. In 1850 Martin published a German prayer-book in New York called *Perlen aus Jerusalem*. See John B. Wuest, O.F.M., "From the Archives," *The Provincial Chronicle of St. John Baptist Province, Cincinnati, O.* 1942-43, 15:77-80, 120; Adalbert Callahan, O.F.M., *Medieval Francis in Modern America The Story of Eighty Years, 1855-1935*, 78-85; John Lenhart, O.F.M.Cap., "German-American Catholics in Boston, 1846," *Social Justice Review*, 1943, 36:167-68, 207-08.

Lachat (1849-50), Joseph Folk (1850), Aloysius Janelik (1850-53), and Norbert Steinbacher (1853).⁴³

The brightest spot in the history of the parish is the development of the school. Having been organized in the fall of 1844, classes were first held in the basement of the church. This was the first parish school in all six New England states. Originally it was staffed by lay teachers, both male and female, but in 1859 the Sisters of Notre Dame in Cincinnati were called to continue the work. In the beginning both boys and girls were instructed in the basement of the church and in a back room, but under Father Eck the girls were transferred to another building. Since the Jesuits were not Austrian it is not necessary to develop the history of this parish at length.⁴⁴

Father Martin, the Franciscan who worked in Boston, was not the only member of that order to work in America at an early date. In 1839 Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati visited Europe and he used that opportunity to ask the provincial of the Franciscans in Munich for some priests to work in the missions in America. In October, 1839, Father Huber, O.F.M., of the Bavarian province, arrived in America in company of the bishop. A few years later Bishop Purcell sought more Franciscans, and, on May 26, 1844, Father William Unterthiner left Havre for America. Born in Tirol in 1809 he had been ordained in 1832 and had done some parish work besides teaching exegesis for eight years. Unterthiner was the only Franciscan to cross the ocean, but he was accompanied by fellow Austrians such as Raffener, Inama, Buchmeyer, and others. Upon arriving in New York Unterthiner began his apostolate with a sermon in Holy Redeemer church, New York, but he did not tarry long for already on July 23, 1844, he was in Cincinnati and forthwith he was sent to Holy Trinity church where Father Huber was stationed. The friars represented two provinces and they did not agree well, so they waited anxiously for an opportunity to part company.

⁴³ Francis Weiser, S.J., "The Story of Holy Trinity," *Monatsbote*, October, 1943, 4.

⁴⁴ Weiser, *art. cit.*; *Geschichte der deutschen katholischen hl. Dreifaltigkeits Gemeinde in Boston, Mass.*, 1-40, 63-69.

On November 1, 1845, St. John's church was dedicated and together with the church a school had been built. Though the pioneer work had been done by Father Ferneding, Father Hammer, an Austrian, was the pastor of the new parish from its dedication to February 20, 1846. Thinking the parish had only a gloomy future he left it, and was succeeded by Unterthiner who in this graceful way could say good-bye to Father Huber. In October, 1846, St. John's received an assistant from Tirol in the person of Father Edmund Etschmann. In 1847 Father Nicholas Wachter came, and the following year brought Father Otto Jair. At the very end of 1848 Father Weninger, who had just begun his career of missions at Oldenburg, Indiana, gave a most successful mission at St. John's church. Up to 1850 the Franciscans, like most religious, were working in America as priests with little attention to monastic organization. In 1850, however, Father William was appointed superior and organized Franciscan life began. The first superior had great gifts of leadership, not only in parochial matters but also in national affairs. He contributed articles to the *Wahrheitsfreund*, and in order to write more effectively he petitioned the Leopoldine Society to send him books. His sermons were considered so valuable that they often were published. During the disturbances which the freethinkers created in Cincinnati, he brilliantly championed the rights of the Church. When Archbishop Bedini was in Cincinnati in 1853 Father Unterthiner also played a prominent role, while another Austrian, Frederick Hassaurek (b. Vienna, 1832), was a leader in the opposition. The parish which Father Hammer had despaired of in 1846 enjoyed a phenomenal growth: in 1849 there were 681 baptisms, in 1856 the number was 768, and even the death register mournfully reflects the size of the parish for in 1849 cholera claimed 1,245 victims.⁴⁵

The Franciscan community increased almost annually. In addition to the priests who arrived prior to 1849, Austria sent in 1849 Sigismund Koch and Theophilus Krapf, in 1850 Pirim

⁴⁵ Several of Unterthiner's letters appeared in the *Berichte. Katholische Blätter aus Tirol*, Aug. 18, 1845, p. 780, carried one of his letters which was not optimistic about the status of the Church in America.

Eberhard, Anselm Koch, Accursius Gaertner, in 1852 Leo Osredkar, Francis Karge, David Widmann, and in 1855 Dennis Abarth.⁴⁶

The parish of St. John in Cincinnati became the center of the Franciscan mission field. The first permanent offshoot was St. Stephen's church, Hamilton, Ohio, which was adopted in 1848. The church property had been bought in 1830, in 1831 a church was begun, and in 1836 Stephen Montgomery, O.P., dedicated it. The life of the parish was turbulent and with the growth of a German element it became necessary to form two parishes. The Germans paid \$3,000 for the church while the Irish found a new home for themselves.

The third parish, that of St. Boniface, Louisville, Kentucky, which dated from 1838, was given to Father Jair who from this center made trips to New Albany, Indiana, and Jeffersonville, Indiana.⁴⁷ Other Franciscans took care of places in Indiana such as Lawrenceburg, Aurora, and St. Peters. In Ohio they served Harrison, Pomeroy, Pine Grove, and Portsmouth. In both states they temporarily took care of parishes until a resident pastor could be found. Even parishes such as St. Joseph's, Cincinnati, which were founded by Franciscans were turned over to diocesan clergy.⁴⁸

The Franciscans made one early attempt to establish themselves in the South but failure soon swallowed their zeal. Around 1847 a group of Germans and Irish had settled in Morgan County, Tennessee, and at the foot of the Great Smoky Mountains thirty Catholic families from Holland had settled. The small community of Wartburg, Tenn., had agents in New York and in Germany to procure new settlers and around 1848 Father Ivo Schacht, pastor of the Germans in Nashville, visited the growing settlement. Apparently he had no intention of assuming the pastorate for in April, 1849, Father Etschmann left for Wartburg with the approval of Bishop Miles of Nashville. The provincial in Tirol was impressed with the project

⁴⁶ Unterthiner died in 1857. S. Koch returned to Tirol in 1857 and died in 1885 at Salzburg. Krapf left the order in 1858.

⁴⁷ Baart, *op. cit.*, 200, says Jair was interested in the orphan asylum at Louisville.

⁴⁸ For details of Franciscan parishes prior to 1860 see *Provincial Chronicle*, 1943, 15:57-73.

in Tennessee and accordingly sent more men to America. Fathers Gaertner, Eberhardt, A. Koch, and Brother James Kahn were in reality destined for Wartburg, the place which had to be abandoned by January, 1851. This failure was counter-balanced by the opening of St. Clement's church at St. Bernard, Ohio, November 23, 1851. Incidentally, the church was named St. Clement because Father Clement Hammer had donated the altar piece, painted by Caspar Jele, an Austrian artist. In a technical sense Wartburg was to have been the first Franciscan monastery, but when that failed, St. Bernard received the distinction. Incidentally, even to-day Wartburg has no resident priest but is cared for by the pastor of Harriman.⁴⁹

Two Franciscans from a different province in Austria also worked in the United States. Father Ivo Leviz came to the United States in 1839, in 1840 he was in Erie, later he was at St. Nicholas church, New York, and from 1843 to 1846 he was at Rochester. There the trustees harassed him to such an extent that he decided to return to Europe but Father Raffener, who could appreciate the value of a German priest, persuaded him to remain.⁵⁰ The other friar, Father Skolla, chose to work among the Indians along Lake Michigan and Lake Superior. He had been inspired by mission literature and especially by the letters of Baraga with whom he corresponded. The Leopoldine Society gave him 400 florins, the usual grant for travelling expenses, and on Christmas, 1841, Skolla landed in New York.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 61-62, 119. See Mary Gohmann, *Political Nativism in Tennessee to 1860*, Washington, 1938, 40. When the new St. Clement was built Bishop Purcell granted the Franciscans \$400 which he had from the Leopoldine Society. Beda Kleinschmidt, *op. cit.*, 28, reports that the Province of St. Leopold sent to America a total of twenty-three priests and fourteen brothers.

⁵⁰ *Berichte*, 14:1; 19:63; 23:11. Callahan, *op. cit.*, 14, says he labored fifteen years in America. *The Friars Minor in the United States*, Chicago, 1926, 337, says that he planned to organize a Slovenian branch of the Franciscan Order but when his Vicar-Provincial in Laibach did not approve the plans he lost interest. According to this last source he was especially interested in the Indian missions. Salzbacher, *op. cit.*, 271, mentions Leviz as pastor of a second German church in Rochester. The main church belonged to the Redemptorists, and the second church, according to Salzbacher, was poorly located. He hints that Leviz had gone to Europe and returned. *The Pastoral-Blatt*, 1877, 11:94, offers the data that Leviz had been a missionary in Syria and that he went back to Hungary where he died. After Leviz left his parish he was succeeded for a short time by a Hungarian, Count Anthony Berenyi.

Until spring, he stayed there with Father Leviz, his countryman; in May, 1842, he took charge of the German parish in Detroit; in June, 1843, he went to Mackinac. He worked at La Pointe, Fond du Lac, Minnesota, and in 1853 betook himself to Keshena, near Green Bay, where he baptized 302 Indians within three years. Owing to calumnies which circulated among the Indians he left around 1857 to return to his monastery in Austria where he was known to be alive as late as 1891.⁵¹

The Capuchins also sent some Austrians to the United States. In 1844 Father Ambrose Buchmeyer arrived in New York and at once took charge of St. Nicholas church where he remained till his death in 1861.⁵² He was assisted by Felix Krebecz, a Capuchin and a fellow countryman, who arrived in New York in 1845. After the death of Father Buchmeyer he succeeded him as pastor of St. Nicholas. Besides his work in St. Nicholas, in 1846 he took care of St. John's for several months, and in the following years he at times visited Poughkeepsie and Stony Hill. Father Krebecz died on January 4, 1876.⁵³ In 1850 Father Columban Messner came to America from Tirol. He worked two years in the New York diocese and then went to the diocese of Hamilton, Canada, where he remained fourteen years and encountered many difficulties. In 1866 he started out to return to Europe but en route he stopped at Rochester where he died on January 11, 1867.⁵⁴

In 1851 three Capuchins came to the United States: Fathers Lieb, Dantner, and Tamchina. Father Edward Lieb had been ordained in 1830 and hence came to America with considerable experience. Soon after his arrival he assumed the care of St. Peter's church, Chillicothe, Ohio, where he remained till his

⁵¹ Verwyst, *op. cit.*, 394-408. Callahan, *op. cit.*, 14, 50, is of the opinion that Skolla spent a year at St. Bonaventure College, Alleghany, New York. Skolla left a number of ms. works in Indian which are now in the college library. Salzbacher, *op. cit.*, 257, mentions Skolla and a fellow countryman, Father George Godez, who was interested in the Indian missions. *Berichte*, 20:78-80, printed a letter from him while he worked among the Germans at Westphalia, Michigan, a city 127 miles west of Detroit.

⁵² Buchmeyer was born in present Slovakia and belonged to the Austro-Hungarian province. See *Catalogus Ordinis Minorum Capucinatorum Provinciae Pennsylvaniae*, Pittsburgh, 1940, 29.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 34-35.

resignation in 1882. Seven years later he died and was buried in Chillicothe. It is of more than slight interest to note that he had been an instructor of the Archduke Maximilian who was murdered in Mexico. Father August Dantner, who had been ordained in 1829, was assistant to Fathers Buchmeyer and Krebecz in New York until the summer of 1852 when he was named pastor of St. John the Baptist where he remained till 1870. Kleinschmidt summarizes that in his tenure of office he baptized 5,400 children and blessed over 1,000 weddings. Father John Nepomuc Tamchina, who had been ordained in 1830, had been in Linz twenty years and in 1850 was appointed *lector sacrae theologiae* in the Capuchin monastery at Wiener-Neustadt. In 1851 he came to the United States and he began his career in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, but within two months he left the diocese of Philadelphia for the environs of Pittsburgh. He worked in Butler, Herman, Donegal [North Oakland], Sharpsburg, New Baltimore, Allegheny, and McKees Rocks. From 1863 to 1868 he was pastor of St. Augustine's, Pittsburgh, to which he again returned in 1871. Later he held several other positions. Death ended his career in 1882.⁵⁵

To the remote diocese of Milwaukee came Father Fabian Bermadinger in 1847 in the company of Dr. Salzmann. He planned to found a province of the Capuchin order at Johnsbury, but meanwhile he took care of the Germans and preached to the Indians. Bishop Henni appointed him assistant to Father Rehrl, the apostle of Calumet county, Wisconsin. In 1853 he became Salzmann's assistant at St. Mary's church, Milwaukee, from 1855-56 he worked in Racine as pastor, and after holding several appointments died in 1867 at Port Washington, Wisconsin.⁵⁶

The Austrian Premonstratensians were represented in this

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 33-34; Kleinschmidt, *op. cit.*, 42; Lambing, *op. cit.*, 175, 179, 181, 221, 249. *Berichte*, 23:12, mentions Columban Helmberger, located at St. Nicholas church, New York, and alleges that he was a Capuchin from the North Tirol province. There is some reason for thinking that Father Columban Helmberger and Father Messner designate one and the same man.

⁵⁶ Kleinschmidt, *op. cit.*, 43; Beda Kleinschmidt, *Das Auslandsdeutschum in Uebersee und die katholische Missions-Bewegung*, 197-198; Celestine Bittle, *The Romance of Lady Poverty*, *passim*; Heming, *op. cit.*, 1016.

period by Fathers Inama, Sailer, and Gaertner. Father Inama, erstwhile professor of Latin and Greek in Innsbruck, had arrived in New York early in 1843 where he at once became very intimate with Father Raffener at Williamsburg. He also became acquainted with the bishop of New York and at his request Inama postponed going to Cincinnati and instead started to work among the Germans around Syracuse and Utica. The last named place in 1794 had comprised only four houses, but by 1835 it had two Catholic churches, one for the Irish and another for the Germans. Inama took charge of the latter in the summer of 1843—Father Prost, C.Ss.R., had left five months before—and Inama was the only German speaking priest between New York City and Rochester, between the St. Lawrence River and the Pennsylvania boundary.⁵⁷ Besides working in Utica he was also active at Salina, Syracuse, Manlius, Constableville, and other neighboring communities. Writing from Salina, New York, in 1844, he related that for a year he had tried to organize a German parish and he estimated that he had about 1,000 parishioners. About eighty families in Syracuse and Salina made their living in the salt mines while forty-four families worked farms near Manlius, which was five miles away. The others were scattered over an area of twenty miles. The parish at Syracuse bought a piece of land for 1,000 florins and began a church which was to cost about 4,000 florins. Since the people in Manlius were building a church of their own, not all the Germans could contribute to one project. The missionary made mention of a future school and implored the Leopoldine Society not to forget him. A letter of August 29, 1845, acknowledged a gift of \$484, and mentioned that both church and school were usable. He also described his long journey through the West after Father Schwenninger had come to assist him at Utica.⁵⁸ The purpose thereof was to find a suitable place for a monastery. While he visited Dubuque, St. Louis, Mackinac, and other remote places, his choice fell on Sac Prairie, a community on the banks of the Wisconsin River,

⁵⁷ *Letters of Inama* ed. by Peter Leo Johnson, 14, 92. Schneller at Albany was too Anglicized to be counted as a German priest.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 48, n. 52, states that Schwenninger was a Benedictine who had come to the United States from Tirol in 1844, he was in Utica from 1846-48, and in California from 1854-68. He died in 1868.

twenty miles from Madison. Father Inama was impressed with the possibility of water communications: to the south via the Mississippi, to the east by the Erie Canal, to the north by the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes. Inama planned to have lay people or Brothers of the School from Tirol clear the land and his superior thought that he could send two priests the following year. Bishop Henni of Milwaukee was delighted with this project and promised his support, but Inama emphatically wrote to Vienna that all depended on European aid.

In 1846 Inama reported from Wisconsin that his old parish in Salina had a \$700 debt, it was not completely furnished, the school quarters were not finished, there was no rectory. He taught school himself because the parish could not afford a teacher, but he was frequently disturbed in the class room by graver business.

In Wisconsin Count Agostin Haraszthy,⁵⁹ a Hungarian, had given Inama 100 acres; Inama bought eighty more from him on credit, eighty more were financed by the abbot, and Inama had an option on 160 more. On these 420 acres Inama projected a mission center where both priests and laity could be educated. A footnote in the letter advised Austrians that the Leopoldine Society had already advanced him 500 florins for this cause. Inama in a letter of March 16, 1847, thanked the society for this gift which amounted to \$237, and he also mentioned a confrère of his, Father Maximilian Gaertner. Other sources reveal that he had come to America in 1847 and in 1851 he returned to Europe. From 1852 to 1856 he again lived in America. Then he returned to Tirol where he died in 1880 or

⁵⁹ The family of Haraszthy was famous in Hungarian history. When the liberal movement of 1839-40 failed, Agostin fled to America. After extensive travels he wrote a book in Hungarian to encourage Hungarian emigration to America. In 1840-41 he settled near Portage, Wisconsin, where he owned a large tract of land which he improved with roads and ferries. He founded Sauk City, for a time called Haraszthy, where he planted the first hop yard in Wisconsin. In 1848 he contributed liberally to the Hungarian revolutionaries. The next year he went to California where he wrote extensively on viticulture and became a prominent citizen. In 1868 he went to Nicaragua where he died in 1870. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s. v. Haraszthy; *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 14:79-80; August Derleth, *The Wisconsin River of a Thousand Isles*, 117-125. Derleth tells the story of Haraszthy in a light vein in *Restless is the River*.

1881.⁶⁰ In the same letter of 1847 Inama said Sac Prairie had thirty families then, whereas it had only three two years before. The rumor of a mission house had lured people thither, and more families had announced their intention of settling there. A small church had been built at Sauk City for 500 florins but burned down soon after completion, so the parishioners again met in a dilapidated school house for divine services. There Inama had also conducted a regular school the preceding year and he prepared several for First Holy Communion and Confirmation. By 1853 the Premonstratensians had divided their mission into five sections which were regularly attended from the central establishment at Roxbury whose personnel consisted of three priests, one student, and five brothers. Only in one of these regions, that around Sauk City, were there any Austrians, and some of those had been brought there by the revolution of 1848. Father Gaertner, realizing that men of that mentality were a threat to the faith, arranged to live in their midst to oppose their influence both in church and in school. In addition to these five districts the Premonstratensians had the care of all people residing between the Wisconsin and Mississippi rivers. Although an Austrian project in leadership, it aimed at helping all Germans and was also aided by the Ludwig Society in Munich.⁶¹

The Benedictines in Austria did little for the missions. Although Father Wimmer got a hearing in the *Berichte* and also aid from Vienna, it seems that only one Austrian, Father Nicholas Balleis, worked in the American church while it was in its infancy. He enrolled at St. Peter's, Salzburg, on October 26, 1827, was ordained December 4, 1831, and about five years later he left Salzburg to come to America. First he worked in the diocese of Philadelphia, and later he collaborated with

⁶⁰ Zitterl, *op. cit.*, 3. He was a brother of Accursius Gaertner, a Franciscan, mentioned *supra* in this chapter.

⁶¹ *Berichte*, 18:44; 19:57; 20:31; 21:25; 26:50; Zitterl, *op. cit.*, 9-11; Heming, *op. cit.*, 522-23.

Father Sailer came to America in 1852. Though a Premonstratensian he held various pastorates in Wisconsin. He was a frequent contributor to the *Wahrheitsfreund*. F. X. Weinhard, who accompanied Sailer to America, became a secular priest. As late as 1871 Father Haigl was appointed Inama's assistant at Roxbury. After Inama's death in 1879, the parish passed into the hands of the archdiocese of Milwaukee. All the above were natives of Austria.

Father Raffener. His interest was focused on the whole states of New York and New Jersey, but after 1842 he limited his services to Newark, New Jersey. When Father Wimmer arrived in the United States with plans for a large Benedictine establishment, Father Balleis acknowledged him as superior, and he continued active till his death in Brooklyn in December, 1891.⁶² As pastor of St. Francis-in-the-Fields he continued the work of Father Raffener long after the latter's death.

Father Mazzuchelli, O.P., must be included in any survey of Austrian aid to America. Although he was born in Milan in 1806 when Austria's regime in northern Italy was suspended, that region had been strongly influenced by Austria and after the Congress of Vienna her regime was restored. Nevertheless, Mazzuchelli preferred the Italian tongue, and in America he did not dedicate himself especially to German speaking people.⁶³

After leaving the Indians around Green Bay and Portage, Mazzuchelli confined his efforts to the region where Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa meet.⁶⁴ The Mississippi River at the time was bringing immigrants northward and to them came an occasional ambassador of Christ. Father Vincent Badin had been in Prairie du Chien in 1827, Father Lutz had preached to Indians there in the spring of 1831, in 1832 Mazzuchelli made a visit, and that same year Bishop Rosati of St. Louis sent Father McMahon to Galena and Prairie du Chien.⁶⁵ In 1835, when Mazzuchelli returned, Prairie du Chien had 500 Catholic residents. Religious competition was keen along the Mississippi: in 1833 Rev. Lowry, a Protestant, became head of the Indian

⁶² Kleinschmidt, *Das Auslandsdeutschum in Uebersee*, 207-08; *Cath. Encyc.*, s. v. Brooklyn; Salzbacher, *op. cit.*, 301. *Berichte*, 24:110-26, gives letters of Wimmer; *ibid.*, 25:77-95, gives letters of Lechner, O.S.B. Roemer, *Ten Decades*, 234, summarizes that in all the Benedictines received \$20,990 from Austria and \$154,991 from Bavaria.

⁶³ Salzbacher, *op. cit.*, 245, lists Mazzuchelli with Baraga, Pierz, and Viszoczky as "unsere väterländischen Missionäre."

⁶⁴ See Chapter V of this work.

⁶⁵ John McMahon had been married but he and his wife separated to practice higher virtue. He was ordained Nov. 20, 1831. He died of cholera June 19, 1833, at Galena. On May 14, 1834, Bishop Rosati sent Rev. Charles Fitzmaurice. He died in the spring of 1835. See Rothensteiner, *op. cit.*, 1:537-551.

school, thus occupying a position which Mazzuchelli had expected; Rev. Alfred Brunson, a Methodist, came about the same time; and in 1836 Rev. Richard Cadle organized the Episcopalians.

Mazzuchelli met the challenge with a veritable wave of church building. In 1836 the cornerstone of the first Catholic church in Dubuque was laid. In 1837 he laid the cornerstone of the church in Davenport, in July, 1838, he read Mass in Potosi, in 1839 at Burlington, Iowa, in 1840 he made preparations for a church in Iowa City, in 1842 he built one in Bloomington and Bellevue and began another in Sinsinawa, Wisconsin. While this does not exhaust the list of places served by Mazzuchelli, it serves as an index to his zeal which he interrupted in 1843 to make a trip to Europe.

Mazzuchelli had been very successful in his work on the banks of the Mississippi and had even received a measure of Protestant support. Upon returning to America in the autumn of 1844 he projected a Dominican Mission House for Sinsinawa which would include a priests' residence and a college for boys, and he also planned to found a community of Dominican sisters. The authorities in Europe agreed to this and in 1846 a college building was opened and in March, 1848, the Wisconsin legislature recognized it as a university. Meanwhile, Mazzuchelli was promoting parish schools in the vicinity and recruiting novices for his community of nuns. In 1849 Mazzuchelli transferred the establishment at Sinsinawa to the Dominicans at St. Rose, Kentucky, and in 1852 the female community transferred to Benton. Gradually the nuns acquired more schools, and in 1867 the nuns bought Sinsinawa back from the Dominicans and they have remained there down to the present.⁶⁶

Some sketchy evidence deals with an Austrian Servite Father by the name of Anthony Grundner. He was born in Austria in 1823 and was ordained in 1848. He came to the United

⁶⁶ See *Memoirs of Mazzuchelli; Golden Bells in Convent Towers, The Story of Father Samuel and Saint Clara 1854-1904*; Peter L. Scanlan, *Prairie du Chien: French British American*, 200-03.

Francis Mazzuchelli, a relative of Father Samuel, was the first man to be ordained a priest on Wisconsin soil. See Martin Marty, *Dr. Johann Martin Henni Erster Bischof und Erzbischof von Milwaukee*, New York, Benziger Brothers, 1888, 181.

States in 1852 and spent most of his life in Pennsylvania. At the time of his death in 1876 he was pastor of St. Alphonsus church in Philadelphia.

In fine, these are the religious groups which drew heavily from Austrian generosity and served the Germans in America. Some references of a general nature are made in the *Berichte* to teaching Brothers but nothing can be said of their place of origin. Father Weninger, the great missionary, invited the Brothers of Mary to come to Cincinnati and in 1849 they took charge of Holy Trinity school. Simultaneously he had invited the Brothers of the Christian Schools. En route to the United States both groups met on board ship, and the latter decided to settle in Canada.⁶⁷

Similarly, little can be said of the sisterhoods. In an era when women suffrage was still considered radical, no nun would have dared to appeal in the *Berichte* which appeared in conservative Austria. The work of the sisters was subordinate to local conditions. As is well known, the School Sisters of Notre Dame became the most famous of the sisterhoods devoted to teaching in pioneer German schools. The community had been founded by Theresa Gerhardinger under the direction of the saintly Bishop Wittmann and Father Francis S. Job. The former was especially interested in the Christian education of youth and in undoing the damage done by the suppression of convents. The latter, though born in Oberpfalz, became a professor in Regensburg and died in Vienna in 1834, after having served as confessor to the Empress Caroline. Two years after his death appeared his *Geist der Verfassung des religiösen Vereins der armen Schulschwestern de Notre Dame zur Erziehung der weiblichen Jugend in Städten insbesondere in kleinen Orten*. The Sisters of Notre Dame are also related to Austria by reason of their co-operation with the Redemptorists in America. Both groups had worked together in St. Mary's, Pennsylvania, and later the nuns established themselves in Baltimore. The Redemptorists wanted the sisters' motherhouse in Baltimore, but the sisters decided that it was more desirable to locate in Milwaukee. Nevertheless, the Redemptorists whenever possible called them to teach in their schools. In their

⁶⁷ Garraghan, *op. cit.*, 2:145.

new location the nuns were befriended by Father Salzmann and they had as spiritual director Father Urbanek, an Austrian, and Father Weninger also was deeply interested in them.⁶⁸

Although the Ursuline nuns had come to our shores from France as early as 1727, Ursulines from Austria did not arrive until 1848. When Father Melcher was in Europe in 1846 he met a Redemptorist brother and mentioned that he was interested in procuring teaching sisterhoods for the diocese of St. Louis. The brother replied that his sister was superioress of an Ursuline convent at Oedenburg, about forty miles from Vienna, and that she was interested in the American missions. Melcher took the cue, and in 1848 a group of Ursulines sailed from Bremen to the United States. While they stopped over in Baltimore Father Neumann, C.Ss.R., provided for their needs, but within a short time they arrived in St. Louis where they at once opened a convent school. In 1855 the superioress of St. Louis left with several companion sisters to found an establishment at Morrissania, and in 1859 another group accepted the invitation of Bishop Juncker and settled in Alton, Illinois, where they opened a school for girls that same year. Although the Austrians had taken the lead in the American venture, from the very beginning the Bavarian Ursulines opened their treasury and also sent members across the ocean to join the spiritual descendents of St. Angela Merici in the city of St. Louis.⁶⁹

In 1850 Father Francis Rudolf, of Alsatian birth, had asked Father Buchmeyer, of New York, who was planning a journey to Europe, to obtain some sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis for Oldenburg, Indiana. This settlement, located twenty-five miles west of Cincinnati, had been a Catholic settlement since 1836. In October, 1844, Father Rudolf came there and he stayed till his death in 1866. Thereafter the parish passed to the Franciscan Fathers of Tirol who had been active

⁶⁸ P. M. Abbelen, *Venerable Mother M. Caroline Friess*, 90-184; Rainer, *op. cit.*, 91-93; R. Mittermueller, *Life and Work of the Rt. Rev. George M. Wittmann, Bishop of Ratisbon*, 64-93, 190-199; Constant von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon*, s. v, Job.

⁶⁹ Elinor Tong Dehey, *Religious Orders of Women in the United States*, rev. ed., Hammond, 1930, 11-12, 18, 21-22; Rothensteiner, *op. cit.*, 2:37-38.

in Cincinnati. It was Father Rudolf who invited Father Weninger to preach his first mission in the new world in his little church at Oldenburg.

The Mother Superior in Vienna was willing to open a convent in Oldenburg, and forthwith two sisters set out for America. One lost confidence and returned to the mother house; the other, Sr. Theresa, landed in New York in December, 1850. She proceeded to Oldenburg, rented a dwelling, received three postulants Easter Monday, 1851, took over the parish school in November, and in the summer of 1852 the convent was canonically established. That autumn the nuns took charge of a public school with an enrollment of seventy pupils. At the close of 1853 the community counted thirteen members; in 1854 Mother Theresa received eleven orphans into the house, but in 1857 fire destroyed the whole establishment. A campaign for rebuilding was begun and the Ludwig Society and the Leopoldine Society together contributed \$400. The house was rebuilt, and in 1860 Mother Theresa, an Austrian by birth, died at the age of thirty-four, a victim of consumption. She left at her death twenty-seven sisters, twelve novices, and one postulant.⁷⁰

The Dominican Sisters in Brooklyn, while emanating from Regensburg, are nevertheless indebted to the venerable Father Raffener for their start in the New World. Father Wimmer, O.S.B., had visited the Dominican nuns in Regensburg and although he inspired them to take up mission work in America nothing was done until 1853. That August four nuns arrived in New York expecting to be met by Father Wimmer, but to their disappointment Father Wimmer was not to be seen. Father Raffener, however, heard of them and he at once invited them to his parish in Williamsburg, which to-day is downtown Brooklyn. Father Wimmer, though quite critical of Raffener and his pocketbook, was agreeable, so the nuns took up their residence in the basement of the rectory, supervised the household of the pastor, and on September 2, 1853, opened a

⁷⁰ H. Alerding, *A History of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of Vincennes*, 587-94; *Andenken an das goldene Jubiläum des Klosters und der Akademie der Franziskanerinnen in Oldenburg, Franklin County, Ind.*, 1-62.

school which enrolled 140 pupils. In 1854 the nuns bought a convent and by 1857 they were teaching 400 pupils. In 1859 three sisters assumed charge of St. Nicholas school, New York, and in 1869 this last community evolved into an independent community known as Holy Rosary Congregation. Both of these have again subdivided a number of times, and in addition to these must be reckoned the Congregation of St. Catherine of Siena, Racine, established in 1862, which traces its origin directly to Regensburg. This last community was especially dear to the Austrian Premonstratensians in Wisconsin.⁷¹

In concluding the few remarks concerning religious orders of women in the United States the same can be said as was said about the general contribution of Austria to America. The people who came to work in the mission field accomplished far more than Austrian money alone did or could have done regardless of the amount. This was not the case only because the priests and nuns were willing to work exceedingly hard; it was due to the fact that they had remarkable vision and usually possessed skills which were pricelessly rare on the frontier. Just when the Church was losing the battle for a share in the American public school system, these orders of women opened schools which were a boon to the immigrants, the pride of the Catholic Church, the envy of the other denominations, and the foundation of the American Catholic system of education.

* * * * *

The three decades considered in this work comprise the period in which the Catholic Church grew to maturity in the United States. Simultaneously other organizations flourished. In addition to the many Protestant denominations, reform movements both of the Owen type and of the Fourier pattern gained zealous adherents; abolitionism became a prepossessing crusade for many Northerners, and nativism appealed to others. Although these movements of the middle of the nineteenth century were of unequal significance, in their totality they constituted an unhealthy environment for the Catholic Church.

⁷¹ See Mary H. Kohler, *Life and work of Benedicta Bauer, passim*.

Like a living tree the Church in America carefully spread its network of hair roots far and wide in search of the elements necessary for growth. She took them wherever she found them and absorbed them into herself. A dendrologist who sees a healthy tree knows that certain elements must be nearby even though the surface soil seems to be lacking in nutrition. If he takes a spade and investigates he will uncover the sources from which the tree drew its strength. So the historian who examines the American church will find that it was Austria which, like nature, unostentatiously provided many small drops of the elements which the Church needed. Nourishment is more important for a sapling than for a mature tree, and when the Church in America was still an insecure sapling the Catholics of Austria helped nurse it until it became a stately tree which after 1860 withstood new storms and extended its beneficent branches over a wider area.

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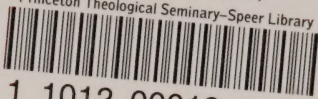
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